REPRESENTATIONAL ROLES OF NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS IN POLICY ADVOCACY

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ABSTRACT

Takayuki Yoshioka

REPRESENTATIONAL ROLES OF NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS IN POLICY ADVOCACY

This research explores what roles nonprofits play in political representation, applying the concept of the representational role to nonprofits. Additionally, it examines how donors and members affect the representational role of nonprofits, using the concept of organizational maintenance-related concerns. The representational role consists of representational focus and style. Representational focus refers to those whom nonprofits aim mainly to serve: members, constituents, or the general public. Representational style denotes the ways nonprofits advocate for those people: the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles. Organizational maintenance-related concerns predict that nonprofits prioritize their members and donors to secure resources rather than prioritize those whom they aim to serve.

This study uses data collected through mixed-mode surveys. The web and mail surveys achieved approximately a 57.5% response rate (729 respondents). The survey and regression analysis results demonstrate that nonprofits serving their members are most likely to adopt the delegation style; these nonprofits convey their members' voices directly to policy makers. In contrast, nonprofits advocating for their constituents are likely to employ the trusteeship style; these nonprofits pursue what they independently identify as the interests of their constituents. Finally, nonprofits speaking for the general

public are most likely to utilize the educational style; these nonprofits work toward educating the general public. These results suggest that nonprofits play different roles in political representation, depending on those whom they aim mainly to serve.

Additionally, this research reveals that nonprofits do not speak for their donors' preferences at the expense of those whom they aim to serve. Moreover, the more nonprofits depend on or receive donations, the more likely they are to act on their own initiative based on their own assessment of policy issues. These results imply that donations can increase the likelihood that nonprofits will make independent judgments in political representation. Also, this study demonstrates that nonprofits aiming to serve broader groups than their members are still likely to represent their members' preferences at the expense of those whom they aim to serve. This is because these nonprofits tend to prioritize their members rather than their constituents or the general public to secure resources.

Leslie Lenkowsky, Ph.D., Chair

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Nonprofit Organizations and Policy Advocacy

Nonprofit organizations play vital roles in the United States. They supply basic necessities, such as health care, housing, and food as well as training, education, arts performances, and religious ceremonies. These services alleviate suffering and enrich lives. In addition, nonprofit organizations provide opportunities for millions of people to donate and volunteer so that they can serve society and show their generosity and compassion. Not least importantly, nonprofit organizations function as a political intermediary between citizens and the government in various ways.

First, nonprofit organizations can advocate for people and interests that are otherwise underrepresented in the public policy process. These organizations send direct and precise messages about citizens' preferences to policy makers and link citizens to policy makers (Berry & Wilcox, 2009). Second, nonprofit organizations can educate people about policy issues. Through research, publications, and campaigns, these organizations can increase awareness of emerging policy problems and possible solutions (Berry & Wilcox, 2009). Their public education efforts can frame a general debate and lead to agenda change (Berry & Wilcox, 2009). Third, nonprofit organizations can provide citizens with the opportunity to participate in the public policy process. By joining organizations' advocacy work, in addition to voting in elections, citizens can have more influence in the policymaking process. Their participation in nonprofit advocacy also helps them play a more significant role in the democratic process and develop

important political skills, such as the ability to deliberate with others, to bargain with others, and to build coalitions (Berry & Wilcox, 2009). Thus, nonprofit organizations can play important roles in making public policy.

The number of nonprofit organizations involved in advocacy has significantly increased since the 1960s, and these organizations have increased their representation in the policymaking process (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Berry, 1977, 1999; Gray & Lowery, 1996; Scholzman & Tierney, 1986; Walker, 1991). However, whether nonprofit organizations strengthen or undermine democracy has been a fundamental controversy in political science and philanthropic studies. Echoing Madison's view of " the mischiefs of faction" (Madison, 2003, p.72), some argue that these organizations may harm democratic government by excessively pursuing single-issue positions, by overloading the political system, or by creating polarized controversies that weaken majority rule (Dahl, 1994; Fiorina, 1999; Olson, 1982; Rausch, 1994; Huntington, 1982). In contrast, others argue that nonprofit organizations counterbalance well-organized, powerful groups, such as business and professional interest groups, by advancing the collective interests of the general public and underrepresented groups (Berry, 1977, 1999; Walker, 1991, McFarland, 1984). Thus, these organizations may help correct imbalanced political representation and expand democratic representation by advocating for a broader set of interests.

In addition, whose interests nonprofit organizations actually represent has been a serious controversy. One rationale of nonprofit advocacy is that it advances the "public interest," defined as the collective interest of the general public and underrepresented groups (Jenkins, 2006). However, while nonprofit organizations often claim to advocate

for the general public or disadvantaged groups, these organizations usually do not have a legal obligation to them. Additionally, these organizations rely heavily on various outside resources, such as donations, foundation grants, membership dues, and government grants. Thus, nonprofit organizations may define their policy goals to fit the interests of those who provide resources to them. For instance, Berry (1999) suggested that these organizations have increasingly focused more on championing quality-of-life issues, such as the environment and education, than on basic economic issues, such as wages and welfare benefits. This shift may reflect these organizations' dependence on affluent members and donors, who are more concerned about such quality-of-life issues than material ones.

Research Questions

This research is aimed at primarily addressing the following two research questions: (1) For whom do nonprofit organizations advocate? (2) How do they actually speak for and act on behalf of those people? Depending on whom organizations aim to serve, the way in which they speak on behalf of those being served may vary. Also, the manner in which organizations participate in the process of political representation may vary, depending on the way in which they advocate for their focal groups. Hence, answering the two research questions can illuminate what roles nonprofit organizations play in political representation and imply how they contribute to democratic representation.

It is also important to examine how members and donors affect the roles of nonprofit organizations in political representation. Nonprofit organizations frequently

claim to speak for broader groups than their members and donors. However, because members and donors provide these organizations with crucial resources, nonprofit officers need to cater to members and donors in order to maintain their organizations. In addition, members and donors typically come from well-educated and relatively affluent groups (Schlozman & Tierney, 1986; Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). Thus, they may have different policy preferences from those whom organizations aim to serve. As a consequence, depending on the circumstances, members and donors may divert organizations away from pursuing the collective interests of the general public or of underrepresented groups or may help these organizations advocate for a broader set of interests.

Research Contributions

Drawing on the insights of political representation, interest group, and philanthropic studies literature, this research extends traditional questions about political representation by elected officials to representation by nonprofit organizations. Whereas the concepts of representational style and focus have usually been used to analyze the roles of legislators (Eulau et al., 1959; Eulau, 1962a, 1962b), this research uses this framework to examine how nonprofit organizations behave in political representation.

In addition, past studies on interest group representation have generally focused on biases in the interest group system and within interest groups (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Berry, 1977; Gray & Lowery, 1996; Scholzman & Tierney, 1986; Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995; Walker, 1991). Also, interest group literature has explored relationships between women or racial minority groups and political representation

(Banducci, Donovan, & Karp, 2004; Gerrity, Osborn, & Mendez, 2007; Griffin & Flavin, 2007; Mansbridge, 1999; Preuhs, 2006; Strolovitch, 2006, 2007; Tate, 2001; Williams, 1998). However, the interest group studies have not generally focused on nonprofit organizations. Also, while some philanthropic studies have examined representational issues of nonprofit organizations in specific geographic areas, specific subsectors, or a few types of constituencies (Bolduc, 1980; Cnaan, 1991; Guo & Musso, 2006; Swindell, 2000), this study explores the representational roles of nonprofit organizations across the United States, a variety of subsectors, and broad groups of people. Also, this research provides a detailed portrait and overview of how nonprofit organizations advocate for their focal groups, using data collected through mixed-mode surveys and the concept of the representational role (Eulau et al., 1959; Eulau, 1962a, 1962b).

With this framework, the large-scale data sets, and quantitative analysis, this study is intended to contribute to advancing an understanding of the roles of nonprofit organizations in political representation. Also, this research is intended to contribute to deepening an understanding of how members and donors affect nonprofit organizations' behaviors in political representation.

Research Outline

This research utilizes data collected through mixed-mode surveys to examine how officers in nonprofit organizations view their roles in political representation. From October 2010 to April 2011, web and postal mail surveys were conducted. The mixed-mode surveys achieved approximately a 57.5% response rate (729 responses). This is

exceptionally high for a survey of nonprofit organizations. In addition, this study uses data derived from organizations' Internal Revenue Service (IRS) Form 990s.

In what follows, chapter two discusses the concept of political representation, the roles of interest groups in political representation, biases in interest group representation, and 501(c)(3) public charities and 501(c)(4) social welfare organizations, reviewing political representation, interest group, and philanthropic studies literature. Chapter three elaborates the theoretical framework for this study. It conceptualizes the representational styles and foci that nonprofit organizations can adopt in political representation and the relationships between nonprofits' representational styles and foci. In addition, this chapter elaborates research hypotheses and models for statistical analyses. Chapter four explains methodology, including sampling methods, survey execution, survey questions, limitations of the survey methodology, descriptive statistics of the data collected through the mixed-mode surveys, and regression analysis models. Chapter five shows the survey results: nonprofits' representational styles and foci, the relationships between representational styles and foci, the relationships between representational styles and charity-related variables, and the relationships between representational styles and membership-related variables. Chapter six demonstrates the results of testing research hypotheses, using the survey and regression analysis results. It reveals that nonprofit organizations utilize different representational styles depending on whom they aim primarily to serve. Using these findings, chapter seven discusses the roles of nonprofit organizations in political representation and their contributions to democratic representation. Also, it describes research limitations and directions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the literature on political representation, interest groups, and philanthropic studies which is relevant to the topic of the representational role that nonprofit organizations play in policy advocacy. In addition, this chapter aims to identify a gap in previous literature that this research intends to fill.

The Concept of Political Representation

Political representation is an institutional and formalized relationship between a representative and those being served (Eulau et al., 1959). A representative is a political actor who advocates for, stands for, and acts on behalf of those whom he or she aims to serve (Urbinati & Warren, 2008). The represented is a group of people who are spoken for, stood for, and acted on behalf of by their designated representative (Rehfeld, 2005). Political representation can be considered legitimate when a representative is authorized by and held accountable to those being served (Castiglione & Warren, 2006). In addition, political representation can be considered democratic if a representative is responsive to the policy preferences of those being advocated for (Eulau & Karps, 1977; Mansbridge, 2003; Urbinati & Warren, 2008).

Political representation literature has explored various issues, such as the extent of congruence and accountability between a representative and the electorate (Achen, 1977; Bartels, 1991; Hill & Hurley, 1999; Hurley, 1982; Miller & Stokes, 1963; Page, Shapiro, Gronke, & Rosenberg, 1984; Weissberg, 1978), the representational styles of legislators

(Eulau et al., 1959; Eulau, 1962a, 1962b; Mansbridge, 2003, 2009, 2011; Pitkin, 1967; Rehfeld, 2009, 2011), relationships between women or racial minority groups and political representation (Banducci, Donovan, & Karp, 2004; Gerrity, Osborn, & Mendez, 2007; Griffin & Flavin, 2007; Mansbridge, 1999; Preuhs, 2006; Strolovitch, 2006, 2007; Tate, 2001), and the possibilities for deliberation related to different representational arrangements (Fishkin, 1991; Schwarz, 1988; Urbinati, 2000).

This research draws on the insights of these important bodies of work, especially on the representational styles of legislators. Pitkin (1967) distinguished formalistic representation from substantive representation. Formalistic representation is characterized by the formal features of authorization from those being served and the representative's accountability to them (Pitkin, 1967). For instance, an elected official is authorized by and held accountable to his or her electorate through elections. On the other hand, substantive representation focuses on the characteristics or actions of a representative rather than on formalistic authorization and accountability mechanisms (Pitkin, 1967). Substantive representation is divided between "standing for" and "acting for" (Pitkin, 1967, p.60, p.112). The former, "standing for," is called descriptive representation (Pitkin, 1967).[1] It is concerned with the extent to which a representative resembles those whom he or she serves. The latter, "acting for," is characterized by how a representative acts on behalf of those being served in a manner responsive to them (Pitkin, 1967).

While elected officials have legally binding authorization from and accountability to their electorates through elections, nonprofit organizations usually do not have such

[1] Pitkin (1967) further differentiated "standing for" into descriptive representation and symbolic representation. Symbolic representation is characterized by the represented accepting the representative as the political leader and believing in the representative as a symbol (Pitkin, 1967).

representational mechanisms. Also, whereas the electorate is a clearly defined group based on a geographically defined district, it is frequently difficult to define or identify those for whom a nonprofit organization advocates. Thus, this study focuses on substantive representation, especially the "acting for" dimension, rather than the formalistic representation.

One traditional controversy in political representation has been whether representatives should act as delegates or as trustees (Pitkin, 1967). The delegate conception of representation requires a representative to follow preferences expressed by those whom he or she serves. On the other hand, the trustee conception requires a representative to pursue his or her own understanding of the best interests of those being served, independently of their mandates.

A representative not only responds to those being served, but also attempts to form or change their policy preferences by educating them, because political interests are not self-generating but are usually constructed by representatives (Mansbridge, 2003, Strolovitch, 2007; Urbinati, 2000; Williams, 1998). Beyond the delegation and trusteeship style, Mansbridge (2003) proposed a more contemporary account of political representation. In the anticipatory style, a representative focuses on what people will want in the future, since they may have different interests in the future than they had in the past or have at present (Mansbridge, 2003). In addition, the representative may attempt to change the preferences of those being served so that they will be more likely to share his or her preferences and approve of his or her actions (Mansbridge, 2003).[2] In

[2] Mansbridge (2003) also developed three other accounts of representation: promissory, gyroscopic, and surrogate forms of representation. Promissory representation focuses on the classic principal-agent model. During election campaigns, a representative makes promises to his or her electorate, and, at the next election, the electorate will reward or punish the representative for acting or failing to act according to the

similar fashion, Eulau (1962b) denoted that a representative may utilize the communicator and mentor styles. In the communicator style, a representative tries to keep people informed by answering questions, making speeches, and using the mass media (Eulau, 1962b). Also, in the mentor style, when a representative is in conflict with those being served, the representative attempts to persuade them to support his or her policy goals by educating them about issues (Eulau, 1962b). In summary, the anticipatory, communicator, and mentor styles show that a representative plays a role in cultivating, constructing, or changing the interests of those being served by working toward educating them about policy issues. Therefore, in this research, these styles refer to the educational style.

Eulau et al. (1959) clarified the concept of representation by the use of the concept of "role" (p.744). The representational role denotes the relationships between representational "styles" and "foci" (Eulau et al., 1959, p.744). The focal dimension refers to the interests of those for whom a representative advocates, such as the electorate, the community, the district, and the state (Eulau, 1962b). The stylistic dimension pertains to how the representative speaks and acts for the interests of those being served,

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promise (Mansbridge, 2003). In gyroscopic representation, a representative's preferences are internally determined, and the representative is only accountable to his or her own beliefs and principles (Mansbridge, 2003). The electorate does not seek to change the representative's policy preferences. Rather, the electorate selects a favorable representative by predicting the representative's future behaviors based on his or her past behaviors and characteristics. Surrogate representation occurs when a representative speaks for people outside his or her district (Mansbridge, 2003). Interest groups frequently turn to surrogate representatives to pursue their substantive interests (Mansbridge, 2003). In surrogate representation, there is no accountability between the representative and those being served, because they live outside the district (Mansbridge, 2003). However, surrogate representation can play an important role in providing representation for a minority of voters who end up with no or little representation in elections.

especially in the delegation style, the trusteeship style, and the politico style (Eulau, 1962a).[3]

Eulau et al. (1959) demonstrated that representational foci determine representational styles to some degree by analyzing relationships between state legislators' behaviors and their areal orientations, such as district orientation, state orientation, and district-state orientation. The authors argued that a state legislator tends to adopt the trusteeship style, when the electorate does not have the information necessary to give intelligent instructions to the legislator, when it is difficult for the legislator to discover the preferences of the electorate, or when the legislator believes that he or she is in harmony with the electorate (Eulau, 1962a). In contrast, a state legislator tends to employ the delegation style, when the electorate has relatively homogeneous preferences or when the legislator comes from a district where electoral competition is keen (Eulau et al., 1959). In the delegation style, a legislator is obliged to follow more or less instructions from the electorate, even if the instructions explicitly counter the legislators' own judgments or principles (Eulau, 1962a). Because the delegation style is a simple and mechanical function of representation, a legislator that employs the delegation style does not bear political responsibility (Eulau et al., 1959).

The Role of Interest Groups in Political Representation

Although political representation is realized and mediated in a variety of political institutions, such as the legislature, the executive branch, the bureaucratic administration, political parties, and interest groups, political representation scholars have primarily

[3] The politico style shows that a representative adopts the delegation style and the trusteeship style simultaneously or serially, depending on circumstances (Eulau et al.,1959).

focused on political representation based on elections and a universal franchise (Castiglione & Warren, 2006).

In a democracy, elections are the primary mechanisms of political representation. However, elections have limitations as representational mechanisms. Whereas legislative elections take place in geographically-based districts, many policy issues are non-territorial in nature (Urbinati & Warren, 2008). In addition, while an elected official is primarily responsible to the electorate in his or her district, the representative does not have formal political responsibilities to those who live outside of his or her electoral district. Thus, elections based on residentially defined districts make it difficult for legislators to advocate for those who do not live in their electoral districts (Rehfeld, 2005; Warren, 2004).

Also, because elections are majoritarian systems, marginalized groups are often under-represented (Warren, 2004). In particular, the winner-take-all elections used in the United States make it difficult for candidates from marginalized groups to win elections. As a consequence, elections based on geographically defined districts are ill-equipped to address non-territorial issues, to convey non-geographically constructed interests to legislators, and to represent marginalized interests.

Interest groups can complement democratic representation by overcoming the limitations of electoral representation. These groups attempt to address policy issues that transcend territorial boundaries (Berry & Wilcox, 2009). In addition, they attempt to convey interests to policy makers that are marginalized in elections or are constructed beyond geographic boundaries (Berry & Wilcox, 2009). In particular, nonprofit organizations can speak and act for people and interests left out of formal political venues,

not just their members, donors, staff, and board members (Berry, 1977; Jenkins, 2006). Through inclusive policy processes, people who are otherwise underrepresented are likely to judge the policy process to be democratically legitimate, whether they agree or disagree with the policy outcomes (Warren, 2001).

Also, interest groups can provoke broad public deliberations on policy issues. The process of dialogue and negotiation among citizens, interest groups, and policy makers can produce a more balanced representation (Warren, 2001). The process also may lead to democratically legitimate policy outcomes guided by deliberated public opinions (Warren, 2001).

Interest groups have increasingly played an important role in advancing public policies, partly because mismatches between the territorially-based representation and the scale and scope of political issues have increased (Castiglione & Warren, 2006). In particular, nongovernmental organizations have played key roles in global issues, which are also non-territorial in nature (Rehfeld, 2005). Given these changes, research on political representation has expanded into political representation through social movements, interest groups, and nonprofit organizations.

Some interest group literature related to political representation has explored the role of disadvantaged groups in political representation and the role of advocacy organizations for marginalized groups. For instance, Williams (1998) contended that the presence and voice of members of historically excluded groups can improve the quality of deliberation in legislative institutions. In addition, their presence contributes to both mitigating distrust and building trust between representatives and those whom they serve (Williams, 1998). Also, Mansbridge (1999) insisted that descriptive representation is

important when disadvantaged groups distrust more privileged citizens or when marginalized groups possess political preferences that are not yet fully formed. Strolovitch (2006, 2007) demonstrated that advocacy organizations for historically excluded groups are less likely to represent intersectionally marginalized subgroups, such as women of color and low-income minorities, than more advantaged subgroups of their underrepresented constituents, such as white women and affluent minorities.

Biases in Interest Group Representation

Business and professional interest groups historically dominated the interest group community. Schattschneider (1975) argued that interest groups did not ease but exacerbated inequalities in political access. Political elites manipulated the political agenda away from the interests of marginalized groups toward the interests of the elites (Schattschneider, 1975). As a result, concerns of marginalized groups were left out of the policymaking process (Schattschneider, 1975).

However, the number of organizations advocating for racial minorities, women, low-income people, environmental protection, or other causes has significantly increased since the 1960s. The growth in the number of these organizations has outpaced the growth in the number of business and professional interest groups (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Berry, 1977; Gray & Lowery, 1996; Scholzman & Tierney, 1986; Walker, 1991). Additionally, advocacy organizations, especially liberal organizations, have augmented their representation in congressional testimony and improved their lobbying success (Berry, 1999). Consequently, nonprofit organizations have increasingly balanced out the

interest group community, even though business and professional interest groups had been traditionally dominant (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Berry & Wilcox, 2009).

However, the extent to which interest groups have conveyed citizens' voices to policy makers and have provided compensatory representation for groups excluded from electoral representation has been the source of much debate. Biases and inequalities in the interest group community and within organizations have raised concerns about whom organizations actually represent. Because interest groups, especially nonprofit organizations, rely heavily on outside resources, such as membership dues, donations, and volunteering, these organizations need to consider the opinions of members, donors, and volunteers seriously, not only those whom they serve, in order to maintain the organizations (Pfeffer & Salanicik, 2003; Wilson, 1995). However, members, donors, and volunteers do not necessarily overlap with those being served. In addition, members, donors, and volunteers are likely to be well-educated and relatively affluent (Schlozman & Tierney, 1986; Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). Also, they possess structural advantages, such as flexible work time schedules, interpersonal contacts, and professional knowledge that directly contribute to their ability to organize advocacy work (Bolduc, 1980; Jenkins, 2006). Thus, members, donors, and volunteers may have different policy preferences from those whom organizations aim to represent.

Berry (1999) suggested that advocacy organizations have increasingly focused more on championing quality-of-life issues, such as the environment and education, than on basic economic issues, such as wages and welfare benefits. This shift may reflect these organizations' dependence on affluent members and donors, who are more concerned about such quality-of-life issues than material ones. Therefore, these

organizations may define their policy goals to fit the interests of those who provide resources to them (Berry, 1999). In addition, Michels (2010) argued that as leaders of organizations stay in office for longer periods of time, the organizations become increasingly professionalized and bureaucratized. In the process, leaders of organizations tend to become more concerned with organizational maintenance than with organizational mission (Michels, 2010). As a result, their concerns compel organizational leaders to cater to those who can contribute time and money to their organizations (Michels, 2010; Wilson, 1995).

While members, donors, and volunteers tend to be well-educated and relatively affluent and possess structural advantages (Bolduc, 1980; Jenkins, 2006; Schlozman & Tierney, 1986; Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995), these socioeconomic biases are even more pronounced among staff and board members who make decisions about how their organizations conduct advocacy (Wilson, 1995). These biases may further diverge from the interests of people who are supposed to be served by organizations.

Nonprofit Organizations and Representation

In political representation, nonprofit organizations can play a role in mediating between citizens and the government by conveying citizens' voices to policy makers (Berger & Neuhaus, 1977). However, nonprofit organizations have been widely criticized because they are frequently led by local elites who are not elected, and their constituents rarely participate in their decision-making process (Bolduc, 1980; Cnaan, 1991; Swindell, 2000). In addition, nonprofit organizations tend to act in their constituents' name, even when their advocacy activities are not reflective of their

constituents (Bolduc, 1980; Cnaan, 1991; Swindell, 2000). As a consequence, the capacities of nonprofit organizations to actually represent the interests of citizens to the government have been widely challenged (Bolduc, 1980; Cnaan, 1991; Guo & Musso, 2006; Swindell, 2000).

For instance, based on case studies of a neighborhood civic organization located in Hartford, Connecticut, Bolduc (1980) revealed that even when citizens of the neighborhood did not directly participate in the organization's decision-making process, the organization leaders usually assumed that citizens approved of the organizations' activities because they perceived citizens as giving consent through silence. Thus, Bolduc (1980) insisted that the elite dominance of nonprofit organizations may impede potentially more representational forms of citizens' participation in the public policy process. In similar fashion, using two case studies of community-based organizations in Los Angeles, California, Guo & Musso (2006) demonstrated that because nonprofit organizations often have amorphous goals and base their work on societal values about which there may be little consensus, it is difficult to determine whether or not these organizations reflect the true needs of their constituents.

To strengthen the organization's representation of and sensitivity to constituents, Guo & Musso (2006) contended that constituents' participation in an organization's decision-making process is important. The forms of inclusive organizational structure and board practices can facilitate constituents' participation in an organization and enhance its receptiveness to constituents' demands (Guo & Musso, 2006).

Public Charities and Social Welfare Organizations as Interest Groups

Many nonprofit organizations are founded for purposes other than advocacy. Their typical mission is to provide health and educational services, to aid the poor, or to sponsor cultural or religious activities. However, providing services is sometimes not enough to solve problems, such as poverty, inequality, racism, environmental pollution, and inefficient government. In these cases, advocacy can be an important activity for addressing more fundamental issues. In addition, to make political representation more inclusive, citizens need to have mechanisms for transmitting information about their policy preferences to the government (Scholzman & Tierney, 1986). Nonprofit organizations can play an important role in achieving a more inclusive political representation by conveying citizens' voices to policy makers. Thus, many nonprofit organizations use advocacy as a tool to achieve their missions.

In this research, "policy advocacy" refers to organized attempts to influence policy makers at legislative, executive, or judicial branches of government at the local, state or national level. It includes nonprofit organizations communicating with policy makers about policy issues, responding to requests for information on policy issues from policy makers, and encouraging members, constituents, or the general public to communicate with policy makers about policy issues. "Policy makers" refer to officials at the local, state, or national level who work at any governmental institution, such as legislative, executive, and judicial institutions; administrative agencies; and boards and commissions. Additionally, in this research, nonprofit organizations refer to 501(c)(3) public charities and 501(c)(4) social welfare organizations, since the former was the largest category and the latter was the second largest category in the nonprofit sector in

the United States in 2009 (National Center for Charitable Statistics [NCCS]).[4, 5] As of 2009, public charities and social welfare organizations occupied more than 70% of nonprofit organizations in the United States (NCCS).

The empirical research on nonprofit advocacy called "Strengthening Nonprofit Advocacy Project (SNAP)" (2002) revealed that about 86 % of 501(c)(3) public charities had experience in participating in the public policy process. Approximately 71% of public charities testified at legislative or administrative hearings, roughly 74 % were engaged in direct lobbying, and about 78 % conducted indirect lobbying (SNAP, 2002).[6] However, the majority of these organizations infrequently and inconstantly participated in the public policy process (SNAP, 2002). The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) lobbying regulations may be a reason for the low level of public policy participation by public charities (Berry & David, 2003).

In exchange for tax deductibility for charitable contributions to 501(c)(3) public charities, these organizations are restricted from devoting a "substantial" part of their activities to attempt to influence legislation (IRS, 2011a, para. 1).[7] The purpose of limiting legislative lobbying is to ensure that charitable contributions to public charities are used primarily for charitable purposes, not political purposes (Kindell & Reilly, 1997). To avoid violation of the tax code, which could result in the loss of tax deductibility, a

[4] The 501(c)(3) category includes 501(c)(3) public charities and 501(c)(3) private foundations. As of 2009, the number of 501(c)(3) public charities was approximately 1.6 million (NCCS), and the number of 501(c)(3) private foundations was about 121,000 (NCCS). The 501(c)(3) category occupied roughly 71 % of nonprofit organizations in the United States in 2009 (NCCS).
[5] Private foundations were not included in this research, because they must follow a different and rigidly restrictive set of tax rules governing their participation in the public policy process (IRS, 2012d).
[6] SNAP defined "lobbying on behalf of or against a proposed bill or other policy pronouncement" as direct lobbying, and "encouraging members to write, call, fax, or email policy makers" as indirect lobbying (Berry et al., 2003, p.76).
[7] A 501(c)(3) public charity is also prohibited from engaging in any partisan political activities to campaign for or against a candidate for an elected political office, whereas it can engage in nonpartisan electoral activities, such as voter registration and sponsoring candidate debates (IRS, 2011d).

public charity that has a desire to be engaged in legislative lobbying may use one of two tests to determine its amount of permissible lobbying expenses: the substantial part test or the 501(h) expenditure test. The substantial part test requires that lobbying activities do not constitute a "substantial part" of a public charity's overall activities (IRS, 2011b, para.1).[8] The 501(h) expenditure test limits the amount of money that a public charity is allowed to spend for legislative lobbying without penalty taxes, based on the size of its exempt purpose expenditures (IRS, 2011c).[9] On the other hand, a 501(c)(4) social welfare organization is not eligible for receiving tax-deductible contributions. However, the organization is permitted to perform unlimited lobbying as long as the lobbying is consistent with its mission (IRS, 2012a).[10]

The 501(c)(4) category contained the second largest number of nonprofit organizations as of 2009 (NCCS). In 2009, about 112,000 social welfare organizations registered with the IRS (NCCS). Social welfare organizations are "civic leagues or organizations not organized for profit but operated exclusively for the promotion of social welfare" (IRS, 2010, para.1). According to the IRS (2010), "organizations that engage in substantial lobbying activities sometimes also are classified as social welfare organizations" (para.2).

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[8] However, the IRS does not clarify what "substantial" means. The IRS examines a variety of factors, such as the organizational goals, and the amount of time and energy devoted to lobbying by the charity's board, staff, and volunteers, regardless of cost (Harmon, Ladd, & Evans, 2000). Many tax practitioners advise that a public charity can conduct lobbying without penalty as long as it is less than 5 % of its overall activity (Alliance for Justice, 2004).

[9] The 501(h) expenditure test calculates the total non-taxable lobbying expenditure limit by the following formula (IRS, 2011c): 20% of the first $500,000 of exempt purpose expenditures plus 15% of the next $500,000 plus 10% of the third $500,000 plus 5% of the remaining with a ceiling of $1 million. In addition, no more than 25% of the total non-taxable lobbying expenditure limit can be spent on grassroots lobbying. If a public charity exceeds the upper limits of the non-taxable total lobbying expenditures or grassroots lobbying expenditures, the organization has to pay additional tax.

[10] A 501(c)(4) social welfare organization is allowed to participate in political activities to support or oppose a candidate for political office as long as these activities are a secondary purpose of the organization (IRS, 2012).

Because of the regulations governing legislative lobbying by 501(c)(3) public charities, a public charity that wants to engage in more legislative lobbying without jeopardizing its tax exempt status can set up a 501(c)(4) social welfare organization (Kerlin & Reid, 2010). Similarly, a social welfare organization can set up a public charity to raise funds for its public education, research, and litigation, as well as its lobbying activities (Kerlin & Reid, 2010).

A 501(c)(3) public charity can transfer its funds to its related 501(c)(4) social welfare organization for lobbying activities. However, the funds can only be spent on the social welfare organization's lobbying activities that do not exceed the total limit imposed on the public charity for its lobbying expenditures (Kerlin & Reid, 2010). In general, its related social welfare organization can spend the funds from a public charity only on activities that the public charity itself is allowed to conduct under the regulations (Kerlin & Reid, 2010).

The combination of a 501(c)(3) public charity and a 501(c)(4) social welfare organization allows the related organizations to engage in a broad range of advocacy activities and to achieve advocacy goals in various ways under the regulations (Kerlin & Reid, 2010).[11]

Gaps in Previous Research

While political representation studies have primarily focused on elected officials' behaviors, interest groups have increasingly played an important role in political

[11] If these organizations want to engage in more election-related activities, their 501(c)(4) social welfare organization can set up a connected Political Action Committee (PAC) so that the PAC can raise money for candidates and engage in political activities supporting or defeating a candidate for political office as its primary purpose (Kerlin & Reid, 2010).

representation (Berry, 1977, 1999; Castiglione & Warren, 2006). Interest group research regarding political representation has mainly explored biases in the interest group community and within interest groups (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Berry, 1977; Gray & Lowery, 1996; Scholzman & Tierney, 1986; Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995; Walker, 1991) as well as the role of women or racial minority groups in political representation (Banducci, Donovan, & Karp, 2004; Gerrity, Osborn, & Mendez, 2007; Griffin & Flavin, 2007; Mansbridge, 1999; Preuhs, 2006; Strolovitch, 2006, 2007; Tate, 2001; Williams, 1998). But interest group research has not generally focused on nonprofit organizations' behaviors in political representation. Philanthropic studies has analyzed the capacities of nonprofit organizations to mediate between citizens and the government by representing the interests of citizens to policy makers. However, this research has frequently been limited to case studies of several nonprofit organizations, specific geographic areas, specific subsectors, or a few types of constituencies (Bolduc, 1980; Cnaan, 1991; Guo & Musso, 2006; Swindell, 2000). Thus, previous research has not fully illuminated the roles of nonprofit organizations in political representation. In order to sufficiently examine the representational roles of nonprofit organizations, it is necessary to explore how they behave in political representation across the United States, a variety of subsectors, and broad groups of people, using survey data and statistical analysis which could produce generalizable findings.

According to Eulau et al. (1959), the representational role consists of representational focus and style. Representational focus refers to those for whom a representative advocates, and representational style pertains to how the representative speaks for its focal group (Eual et al., 1959). Thus, in order to illuminate the

representational role of nonprofit organizations, it is necessary to explore for whom they speak and how they act on behalf of their focal groups. It is possible that, depending on the types of those being served, the way in which organizations speak for their focal groups may vary. However, these questions have not been sufficiently debated. In addition, although nonprofit organizations frequently claim to represent the collective interests of the general public or underrepresented groups to justify their policy advocacy, they are under no legal obligation to do so. It is within the organizations' discretion to decide whose interests they actually represent and how they represent those interests. Hence, these questions are worthy of being addressed, using the concept of the representational role.

In addition, previous research has not fully demonstrated how members and donors affect nonprofit organizations' behaviors in political representation. Although previous research suggested that organizations may define their policy goals to fit within the interests of those who provide resources to them (Berry, 1999; Michels, 2010; Pfeffer & Salanicik, 2003; Wilson, 1995), it has not sufficiently explored the circumstances under which members and donors may divert organizations away from pursuing the collective interests of the general public or underrepresented groups due to organizational maintenance-related concerns, or for that matter, the circumstances under which members and donors may help these organizations advocate for a broader set of interests.

Also, whether or not membership organizations behave differently from non-membership organizations has not been fully researched. In membership organizations, members can speak up or leave their organizations when they are dissatisfied, bringing pressure on their organizations to follow members' opinions (Warren, 2001). On the

other hand, non-membership organizations are not influenced by their members since they have no members by definition. However, they frequently claim to represent their focal groups without locally-rooted and active participation by those being served (Skocpol, 1999). Thus, non-membership organizations could take on a different representative role than membership organizations do.

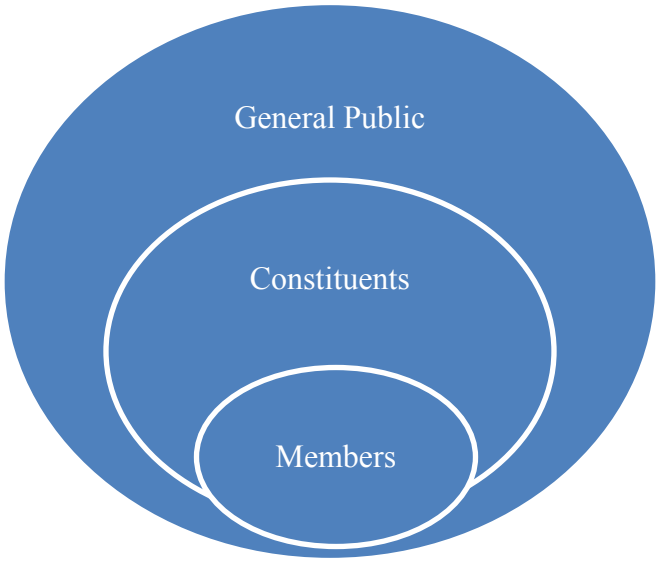
In summary, to fill a gap in understanding the role of nonprofit organizations in political representation, this research is aimed at illuminating for whom these organizations aim to advocate and how they act on behalf of their focal groups, applying the concept of the representational role (Eulau et al., 1959; Eulau, 1962a, 1962b) to nonprofit organizations engaged in policy advocacy. In addition, this study examines how members and donors affect nonprofit organizations' behaviors in political representation, using the concept of organizational maintenance-related concerns (Pfeffer & Salanicik, 2003; Wilson, 1995).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

This chapter aims to develop research hypotheses in order to analyze the representational role that nonprofit organizations play in policy advocacy. The representational role refers to the relationships between representational styles and foci (Eulau et al., 1959; Eulau, 1962a, 1962b). In the case of nonprofit organizations, the focal dimension of the representational role denotes those whom organizations aim primarily to serve: members, constituents, or the general public (see Figure 3.1). In this research, the term "constituents" refers to a group of people whom an organization aims mainly to serve, including both members and non-members. Constituencies could include professionals, children, students, patients, the needy, local communities, women, and racial or ethnic minorities.

Figure 3.1. The Relationship among the Three Representational Foci



The stylistic dimension of the representational role pertains to how nonprofit organizations speak for and act on behalf of their focal groups. In the delegation style, an organization follows opinions expressed by those being served. In the trusteeship style, an organization acts on its own initiative based on its own assessment of policy issues and pursues what it independently identifies as the interests of its focal group. In the educational style, an organization attempts to convince its focal group of the issues or policies that the organization thinks are important for those being served.

In political representation, nonprofit organizations aim to act for members, constituents, or the general public. These focal groups may possess distinctive characteristics which could affect how organizations advocate for them to varying degrees (Eulau et al., 1959; Eulau, 1962a, 1962b). As a result, because of the distinctive characteristics of members, constituents, and the general public, the representational role of nonprofit organizations may vary depending on the types of their focal groups.

Characteristics of Representational Foci

Members, constituents, and the general public may possess distinctive characteristics, such as different levels of interest in policy issues, different levels of knowledge regarding policy issues, various degrees of diverse policy preferences, and different levels of capacity to influence organizations (see Table 3.1).

Members may be highly interested in the policy issues that their organization addresses because members often join an organization in order to support its advocacy and to receive purposive benefits from participation in public affairs (Schlozman &

Tierney, 1986; Walker, 1991; Wilson, 1995)[12]. In addition, members may be well-informed about relevant policy issues, since members are frequently educated about the policy issues through newsletters or member meetings by their organization. Indeed, almost all interest groups send their members some type of publication that is targeted at their members (Berry & Wilcox, 2009). Also, members' policy preferences may become more homogeneous over time since dissatisfied members tend to exit their organization (Warren, 2001).

Members can have a large capacity to influence their organization. They can speak up, refuse their payment of membership dues, or decline their participation in their organization's activities until it better adheres to members' mandates. In addition, because members are a group of people that the organization aims to serve, members can legitimately demand that the organization respect their opinions. As a result, the organization needs to consider its members' voices seriously due to its concerns about organizational maintenance and the legitimacy of its advocacy.

In contrast, the general public may possess little interest in and little knowledge about policy issues because public opinion studies have consistently found that the general public is poorly informed about issues and policies (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1997; Zaller, 1992). Additionally, the general public may have more heterogeneous policy preferences since it has a wide variety of population attributes and diverse values and beliefs. Also, the general public may have a small capacity to influence an organization that claims to speak mainly for it. Because only tiny portions of the general

[12] Members join an organization for multiple reasons (Berry & Wilcox, 2009). Olson (2003) pointed out that people join if they are coerced or receive economic benefits that are available only for members. However, empirical studies have demonstrated that members are motivated by not only selective material benefits but also by a sense of responsibility for and by benefits from participation in public affairs (Schlozman & Tierney, 1986).

public belong to, make contributions to, or volunteer for an organization, it is difficult for the general public to exert pressure on an organization by refusing payments of dues, contributions, or volunteer work. As a consequence, an organization does not necessarily have to consider public opinions seriously for organizational maintenance and survival.

On the other hand, while constituents include both members and non-members that an organization aims to serve, constituents are a small portion of the general public. Constituencies could include professionals, children, students, patients, the needy, local communities, women, and racial or ethnic minorities. Constituents who are also members of an organization that claims to serve them may be somewhat different from constituents who are not members of the organization. Non-member constituents are frequently defined by the organization, and the organization usually claims to represent non-member constituents without their authorization. Thus, non-member constituents do not have a meaningful exit option, even if they disagree with the organization (Strolovitch, 2007). For instance, pro-choice groups regard reproductive rights as an essential component of women's equality and often claim to represent "all women," although pro-life women do not belong to pro-choice groups and believe that abortion harms women's social status (Luker, 1984; Mansbridge, 1986). Hence, unlike the policy preferences of member constituents, the policy preferences of non-member constituents cannot become more homogeneous since they cannot leave their organizations. As a result, non-member constituents may have more diverse policy preferences than members. However, non-member constituents are relatively clearly delineated social and economic groups, such as professionals, people in poverty, and racial minorities (Strolovitch, 2007). Therefore, non-member constituencies may have more homogeneous policy preferences

than the general public, according to the social and economic dimensions that define their groups. In particular, when people share a history of exploitation and discrimination, they tend to form solidaristic feelings and perceive that their own interests are connected to the interests of other people who share their grievances and status (Dawson, 1994). As a consequence, constituents, as a whole, may have more diverse policy preferences than members but more similar policy preferences than the general public.

While member constituents may be highly interested in the policy issues that their organization addresses and may be fairly informed about the policy issues, non-member constituents may possess little interest in and little knowledge regarding the policy issues because they are simply captured by the organization without their consent. Thus, constituents, as a whole, may have higher levels of interest in and knowledge about the policy issues than the general public but lower levels of interest in and knowledge about the policy issues than members.

While member constituents may have a large capacity to influence their organization, non-member constituents may have a small capacity to influence their organization. Hence, constituents, as a whole, may have a larger capacity to influence their organization than the general public but a smaller capacity to influence it than members.

Table 3.1. Four Characteristics of Representational Foci

	Interest in issues	Knowledge about issues	Policy preferences	Capacity to influence
Members	High	High	Homogeneous	Large
Constituents	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
General public	Low	Low	Heterogeneous	Small

Representational Styles

Although there are many representational styles that political actors utilize in political representation (Mansbridge, 2003), this research examines three representational styles that nonprofit organizations can adopt in policy advocacy. In the delegation style, organizations follow the mandates of those whom they aim mainly to serve. In the trusteeship style, organizations act on their own initiative based on their own assessment of policy issues and pursue what they independently identify as the interests of their focal groups. Organizations that adopt the trusteeship style do not simply follow opinions expressed by those being served because they believe that expressed preferences are not necessarily equal to real interests. When people are misled, misinformed, or irrational about their wants and needs, organizations cannot rely on expressed preferences as the sole indicator of their real interests (Mansbridge, 1983). In this case, organizations need to identify preferences that people would have if they were fully informed or rational (Mansbridge, 1983). While the trusteeship style has a risk of organizations paternalistically representing people, which is referred to as "voluntary failure" (Salamon, 1987, p.111), the trusteeship style can be legitimate when organizations learn and anticipate what people really need and carefully exercise their independent judgments (Young, 2000).

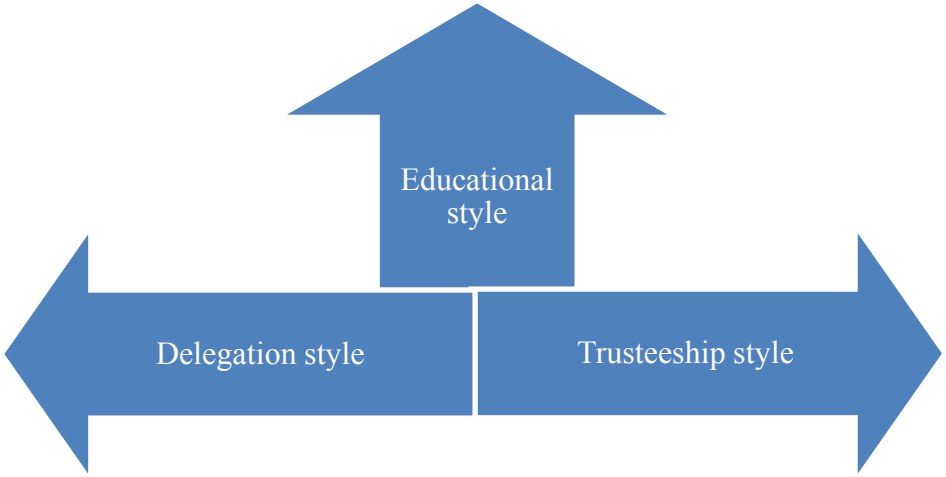
Political interests are not self-generating but are usually constructed by political actors. Thus, nonprofit organizations not only respond to the policy preferences of their focal groups but also attempt to form or change their focal groups' policy preferences by educating them (Strolovitch, 2007; Urbinati, 2000; Williams, 1998). In the educational

style, organizations work toward educating their focal groups about policy issues so that their focal groups will consider the policy issues as relevant to their interests.

In order to clarify whether organizations are likely to prioritize the voices of their focal groups or their own independent judgments, this research primarily focuses on the circumstances in which a majority of their focal groups are not in agreement with organizations' policy positions.[13] Under these circumstances, the delegation style cannot coincide with the trusteeship style simultaneously, since what organizations independently identify as the interests of their focal groups is different from the expressed preferences of those being served. Thus, organizations need to choose one of the two styles or avoid the policy issues. Additionally, organizations need to consider whether they should work toward educating their focal groups so that they can be more receptive to organizations' policy positions. As a consequence, under these circumstances, the delegation style and the trusteeship style are mutually exclusive and lie on a continuum. However, the educational style can coexist with the delegation or trusteeship style (see Figure 3.2).

[13] When an organization is congruent with those being served, it is difficult to distinguish whether the organization follows the opinions expressed by their focal groups or whether the best interests of their focal groups that the organization independently identifies simply coincide with the interests expressed by those being served. Also, under such circumstances, the organization does not need to educate those being served because they already agree with the organization.

Figure 3.2. The Relationship among the Three Representational Styles



Effects of Characteristics of Representational Foci and Representational Styles

Members, constituents, and the general public may possess distinctive characteristics, such as different levels of interest in policy issues, different levels of knowledge about policy issues, various degrees of diverse policy preferences, and different levels of capacity to influence organizations. These distinctive characteristics could affect how organizations represent members, constituents, and the general public (see Table 3.2).

First, when a focal group is highly interested in the policy issues that an organization addressees, the focal group may want its voices heard by the organization. The organization also may want to emphasize the focal group's opinions because the organization is concerned about the legitimacy of its advocacy. Thus, the organization would be more likely to follow opinions expressed by those being served – the delegation style. In turn, the organization would be less likely to act on its own initiative based on its own assessment of the policy issues – the trusteeship style. In addition, under these circumstances, an organization would be more likely to work toward educating its focal

group – the educational style – because the focal group may want to know more about the policy issues.

Second, when a focal group has little knowledge about relevant policy issues, an organization cannot rely on the preferences expressed by those being served as the sole indicator of their true interests (Mansbridge, 1983). Thus, the organization would be less likely to follow what they say – the delegation style. Instead, the organization would be more likely to pursue what it considers to be in the interests of its focal group – the trusteeship style. Additionally, under such circumstances, an organization would be more likely to attempt to educate those being served so that they can understand that the policy issues are important for them and can support its advocacy – the educational style.

Third, when a focal group has similar policy preferences, an organization can easily discern the policy preferences of those being served and convey their shared voices to policy makers. As a result, the organization would be more likely to adopt the delegation style. In contrast, if a focal group has diverse policy preferences, an organization needs to independently identify the interests of those being served among their diverse policy preferences. Hence, the organization would be more likely to practice the trusteeship style. In addition, when a focal group has heterogeneous policy preferences, an organization needs to make greater efforts and expend more resources to persuade those being served that its policy positions are in accord with their interests. Also, it is likely that the organization's educational efforts might not result in success. Because of resource and reputational concerns, an organization often hesitates to actively work when its efforts need more resources and are likely to end in failure (Kingdon, 1995; McAdam, 1982). As a consequence, when a focal group has diverse policy

preferences, an organization would be less likely to work toward educating those being served.

Finally, when an organization perceives that its focal group has a larger capacity to influence it, the organization needs to consider opinions expressed by those being served seriously due to its concerns about organizational maintenance and the legitimacy of its advocacy. Therefore, the organization would be more likely to follow its focal group's mandates. In turn, the organization would be less likely to make independent judgments about its representation. Additionally, under such circumstances, an organization needs to respond to those being served rather than teach them what to do. Hence, the organization would be less likely to adopt the educational style.

Table 3.2. Effects of Characteristics of Representational Foci on Representational Styles

	Higher interest in issues	Higher knowledge about issues	More diverse policy preferences	Larger capacity to influence
Delegation style	More likely	More likely	Less likely	More likely
Trusteeship style	Less likely	Less likely	More likely	Less likely
Educational style	More likely	Less likely	Less likely	Less likely

Representational Roles

The primary hypothesis in this research is that the degree to which nonprofit organizations utilize the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles will vary depending on the types of their focal groups.

Some organizations aim to advocate mainly for their members. For instance, some national and state federations as well as some business and professional organizations aim primarily to serve their members. Members of these organizations may be highly interested in and well-informed about the policy issues that their organizations address. Also, members may have similar policy preferences and have a larger capacity to influence their organizations (see Table 3.1). These characteristics of members would lead these organizations to follow their members' preferences rather than to make independent judgments about their advocacy (see Table 3.2).

In addition, among members, constituents, and the general public, members may have the highest levels of interest in relevant policy issues, the highest levels of knowledge about the policy issues, the most homogeneous policy preferences, and the largest capacity to influence their organizations. Therefore, among the three types of organizations, organizations with a membership focus would be most likely to follow opinions expressed by their focal groups.

Hypothesis 1a: Organizations that aim mainly to serve their members will be more likely to adopt the delegation style than the trusteeship style. Hypothesis 1b: These organizations will be most likely to practice the delegation style among the three types of organizations.

In contrast, other organizations aim to speak primarily for their constituents or for the general public. In particular, many arts and cultural organizations as well as many environmental organizations intend chiefly to serve the general public. The general public usually possesses little interest in and little knowledge about policy issues. Also, the general public may have diverse policy preferences and a small capacity to influence these organizations (see Table 3.1). These characteristics of the general public would lead these organizations to pursue what they independently identify as the interest of the general public rather than to follow its expressed opinions (see Table 3.2).

In addition, among members, constituents, and the general public, the general public may have the lowest levels of interest in policy issues, the lowest levels of knowledge about policy issues, the most diverse policy preferences, and the smallest capacity to influence these organizations. Therefore, among the three types of organizations, organizations with a general public focus would be most likely to adopt the trusteeship style.

Hypothesis 2a: Organizations that aim to advocate chiefly for the general public will be more likely to practice the trusteeship style than the delegation style.
Hypothesis 2b: These organizations will be most likely to utilize the trusteeship style among the three types of organizations.

On the other hand, many educational institutions and human service organizations aim primarily to serve their constituents, such as students, children, senior citizens, the disabled, and the needy. Because constituents are broader groups than members but a

small part of the general public, constituents, as a whole, may have moderate levels of interest in relevant policy issues, moderate levels of knowledge about the policy issues, moderate degrees of diverse policy preferences, and moderate capacity to influence these organizations. These characteristics of constituents, as a whole, would not affect whether these organizations follow their constituents' mandates or act on their own initiative based on their own assessment of policy issues. As a consequence, among organizations with a constituency focus, there would be no significant difference between the degree to which these organizations practice the delegation style and the degree to which they adopt the trusteeship style.

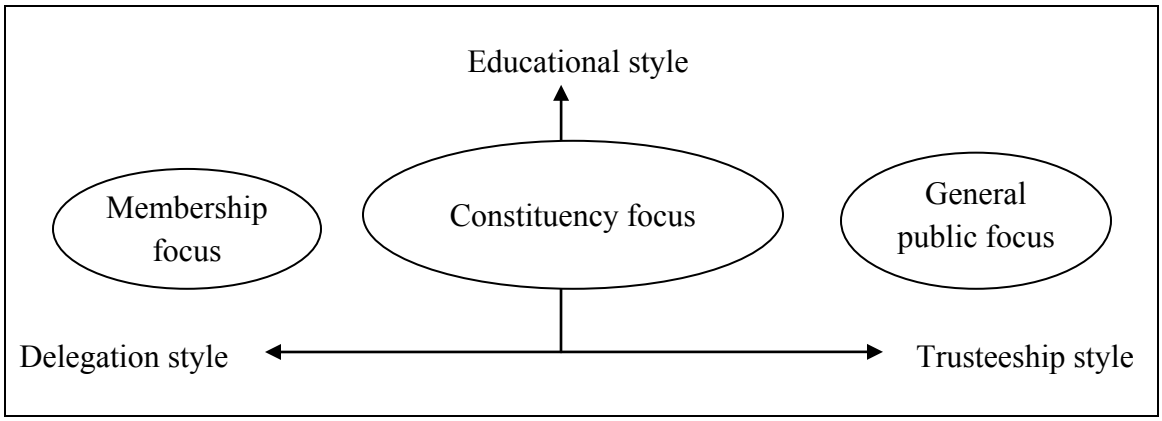
However, since constituencies include a wide variety of groups, their characteristics may somewhat differ depending on the type of constituency. For example, professionals may be highly interested in and highly informed about relevant policy issues, while children may have little interest in and little knowledge about relevant policy issues. Also, professionals may have a large capacity to influence their organizations, whereas children may have a small capacity to influence their organizations. Hence, organizations that aim mainly to serve professionals would be more likely to follow their constituents' mandates. In contrast, organizations that aim to speak primarily for children would be more likely to pursue what they independently identify as the interests of their constituents. Therefore, organizations serving some types of constituencies would utilize different representational styles than organizations speaking for other types of constituencies.

Hypothesis 3a: Overall, among organizations that aim chiefly to serve their constituents, there will be no measurable difference between the degree to which these organizations adopt the delegation style and the degree to which they practice the trusteeship style.

Hypothesis 3b: The degree to which these organizations utilize the delegation style and the trusteeship style will differ depending on the type of their primary constituency.

Figure 3.3. illustrates the research hypotheses about relationships between representational styles and foci.

Figure 3.3. The Research Hypotheses about Representational Roles



The research hypotheses state that because of the distinctive characteristics of members, constituents, and the general public, how organizations advocate for them will differ depending on the types of their focal groups. Thus, the levels of interest in policy issues, the levels of knowledge about policy issues, the degrees of diverse policy preferences, and the levels of capacity to influence organizations could explain relationships between representational styles and foci. If this is the case, after the four characteristic variables are held constant, membership focus, constituency focus, and general public focus would no longer have measurable effects on the degree to which

organizations practice the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles. In particular, after controlling for the four characteristic variables, membership focus would no longer have measurable effects on the delegation and trusteeship styles. Likewise, general public focus would no longer have discernible effects on the delegation and trusteeship styles.

On the other hand, when the four characteristic variables of member, constituents, and the general public are not controlled for, regression analyses may estimate biased coefficients of representational focus variables on the representational styles (see Table 3.3).[14] Because these four characteristic variables may be correlated with the membership focus variable and the representational styles, the membership focus variable may have an upwardly biased coefficient estimate on the delegation style and a downwardly biased coefficient estimate on the trusteeship style (see Table 3.3). Similarly, since these four characteristic variables may be correlated with the general public focus variable and the representational styles, the general public focus variable may have a downwardly biased coefficient estimate on the delegation style and an upwardly biased coefficient estimate on the trusteeship style (see Table 3.3). In contrast, it is unclear whether both representational foci have upwardly or downwardly biased coefficient estimates on the educational style, because some omitted characteristic variables may cause upward biases, while other omitted characteristic variables may cause downward biases. Finally, the constituency focus variable may produce no biased

[14] An omitted variable can cause a biased estimate of a coefficient of an independent variable, if it is correlated with the independent variable and a dependent variable. For instance, if an omitted variable is positively correlated with an independent variable and a dependent variable, the coefficient estimate of the independent variable is upwardly biased. Similarly, if an omitted variable is positively correlated with an independent variable and is negatively correlated with a dependent variable, the coefficient estimate of the independent variable is downwardly biased.

coefficient estimates, since the four characteristic variables are neither positively nor negatively correlated with the constituency focus variable.

Table 3.3. Directions of Possible Biases for the Coefficient Estimates of Representational Roles

Coefficient estimate	Interest in issues	Knowledge about issues	Diverse policy preferences	Capacity to influence	**Overall possible biases**
Membership focus on delegation style	+	+	+	+	**+**
Membership focus on trusteeship style	-	-	-	-	**-**
Membership focus on educational style	+	-	+	-	**+ or -**
General public focus on delegation style	-	-	-	-	**-**
General public focus on trusteeship style	+	+	+	+	**+**
General public focus on educational style	-	+	-	+	**+ or -**
Constituency focus on delegation style	No bias	No bias	No bias	No bias	**No bias**
Constituency focus on trusteeship style	No bias	No bias	No bias	No bias	**No bias**
Constituency focus on educational style	No bias	No bias	No bias	No bias	**No bias**

Although constituencies, as a whole, are not correlated with the four characteristic variables, an individual constituency may be positively or negatively correlated with them. For instance, professionals may be highly interested in and highly informed about relevant policy issues, while children may have little interest in and little knowledge about relevant policy issues. The research hypotheses state that due to their distinctive characteristics, professionals would have a positive effect on the delegation style,

whereas children would have a positive effect on the trusteeship style. Thus, if the four characteristic variables of constituencies can explain how organizations represent their primary constituents, each constituency would no longer have discernible effects on the delegation and trusteeship styles after the four characteristic variables are held constant. For example, professionals would no longer have measurable effects on the delegation style. In a similar fashion, children would no longer have discernible effects on the trusteeship style.

Hypothesis 4a: After the four characteristic variables of members, constituents, and the general public are held constant, representational foci will no longer have discernible effects on the degree to which organizations practice the delegation and trusteeship styles.

Hypothesis 4b: Among organizations that aim mainly to serve their constituents, types of constituencies will no longer have measurable effects on the degree to which these organizations practice the delegation and trusteeship styles, after controlling for the four characteristic variables of constituencies.

Conceptual Models

In the first conceptual model used in the statistical analysis, dependent variables indicate the likelihood of nonprofit organizations adopting the delegation style, the trusteeship style, and the educational style. Independent variables of interest are the three representational foci: membership focus, constituency focus, and general public focus.

Other key independent variables are charity-related variables and membership-related variables. Charity-related variables include the degree of financial dependence on donations and the number of volunteers that an organization employs. These charity-related variables would affect the degree to which organizations utilize the delegation and trusteeship styles because they need to seriously take into account donors and volunteers, not just their focal groups, in order to secure financial and human resources (Pfeffer & Salanicik, 2003; Wilson, 1995).

The more an organization depends on donations, the more likely the organization would be to cater to donors' preferences. In turn, the organization would be less likely to follow its focal group's opinions and to make independent judgments about its advocacy. Similarly, an organization with a larger number of volunteers would be less likely to adopt the delegation and trusteeship styles since the organization needs to respect the preferences of their volunteers.

Hypothesis 5a: Organizations that rely more on donations will be less likely to practice the delegation and trusteeship styles.

Hypothesis 5b: Organizations that rely more on volunteers will be less likely to employ the delegation and trusteeship styles.

Membership-related variables include membership status (membership organization versus non-membership organization), the number of individual members, and the number of organizational members. Membership organizations would advocate for their focal groups differently from non-membership organizations because membership organizations need to take account of their members' opinions for

organizational maintenance and survival (Pfeffer & Salanicik, 2003; Wilson, 1995). Thus, among organizations with a constituency or general public focus, membership organizations would be less likely than non-membership organizations to follow opinions expressed by their focal groups. In addition, among organizations that aim to speak mainly for broader groups than their members, organizations that have a larger number of members would be less likely than organizations that have a smaller number of members to adopt the delegation style, because the former rely more on their members than the latter.

Hypothesis 6a: Among organizations with a constituency or general public focus, membership organizations will be less likely than non-membership organizations to practice the delegation style.

Hypothesis 6b: Among organizations that aim chiefly to represent broader groups than their members, organizations with a larger membership will be less likely than organizations with a smaller membership to adopt the delegation style.

To control for a policy issue characteristic that may affect nonprofits' representational styles, a policy issue variable is included in the conceptual models. It measures what a nonprofit officer perceives about the proportion of people within its focal group who are directly affected by a policy issue. Organizations do not always address policy issues that have impact on the entirety of their focal groups. For instance, some organizations that advocate for women or racial minority groups attempt to advance affirmative action in higher education. Although this issue is important, it does not affect

all women or all racial minority groups; rather, it affects only the more affluent parts of these groups. Thus, depending on the type of policy issue, the proportion of those being affected varies.

When a policy issue affects a larger proportion of a focal group, a larger number of people in the focal group have a stake in its policy advocacy, and the organization needs to speak for the larger number being served. It is harder for the organization to listen to and speak for so many people. Thus, the organization has to make independent judgments and pursue what it independently identifies as the interests of its focal group.

Organizations try to appeal to a middle position of their focal groups in order to maximize support from them (Downs, 1957). From Downs' perspective, when a policy issue has an impact on a larger proportion of those being served, the organization is more likely to work on the policy issue by actively advocating for and educating its focal group in order to maximize support from those being served. Therefore, organizations would be more likely to work toward educating their focal groups when a policy issue affects a larger proportion of them.

To control for organizational attributes that may affect representational styles, the conceptual model includes several organizational attribute variables: the number of staff, the type of organization (501(c)(3) public charity versus 501(c)(4) social welfare organization), policy areas (higher education, hospitals, or other policy areas), the activity areas (local, state, national, or international level), and the nonprofit's location (Washington, D.C. versus other areas).

The number of staff that an organization employs can be a proxy measure of the level of bureaucratization. As an organization becomes highly bureaucratized, the

organization is less likely to be concerned with its focal group (Walker, 1991). Hence, when an organization employs more staff members, the organization would be more likely to act on its own initiative based on its own assessment of policy issues and would be less likely to cater to opinions expressed by those being served.

Social welfare organizations are expected to represent the interests of particular groups (Reilly, Hull, & Braig Allen, 2003), while public charities are expected to speak for the interests of broader groups of people (IRS, 2012a, 2012b). Thus, it might be easier for social welfare organizations than for public charities to listen to and follow their focal groups' opinions. As a result, social welfare organizations would be more likely than public charities to adopt the delegation style.

Organizations that work at the international level would be more likely than organizations that work at the local or state level to pursue what they consider to be the interests of their focal groups. Organizations that work at the international level tend to be remote from those being served because they live in foreign countries. Thus, these organizations need to utilize the trusteeship style more frequently than organizations that work near their focal groups.

Among subsector fields, higher education institutions and hospitals may speak for their focal groups differently from organizations involved in other subsector fields, such as the arts, environmental protection, human services, and public benefit sectors. Higher education institutions and hospitals are remarkably different from organizations in other subsectors. Health institutions and educational institutions dominate the finances and employment of public charities (Wing, Pollak, & Blackwood, 2008; Wing, Roeger, &

Pollak, 2010). These differences may lead higher education institutions and hospitals to advocate for their focal groups in a distinctive manner.

Organizations that are located in Washington, D.C. may advocate differently for their focal groups than organizations that are located in other areas, since organizations in Washington, D.C. may be distinctively interested in influencing national politics.

The conceptual model for an analysis of the representational role is as follows:

Delegation/trusteeship/educational style = $\alpha 0 + \alpha 1$(types of representational foci) + $\alpha 2$(charity-related variables) + $\alpha 3$(membership-related variables) + $\alpha 4$(policy issue variable) + $\alpha 5$(organizational attribute variables) + μ

In order to analyze the representational role of nonprofit organizations that aim mainly to serve their constituents, a second conceptual model is employed for statistical analyses. In this model, dependent variables denote the likelihood of these organizations practicing the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles. Independent variables of interest are the nine types of constituencies: professionals, children, students, patients, local communities, people in poverty, women or racial minorities, other types of constituencies, and the unknown type of constituency.[15]

To test organizational maintenance-related concerns about donations and volunteers, the conceptual model includes the level of dependence on donations and the number of volunteers. In addition, membership status (membership organization versus non-membership organization), the number of individual members, and the number of

[15] After respondents stated that their organization aimed at serving mainly their constituents, they were asked to indicate their primary constituents in the survey questionnaire. However, some respondents did not answer this question. These respondents' constituents were categorized as the unknown type of constituency.

organizational members, are included in the model to test the organizational maintenance-related concerns about membership. Control variables are the policy issue variable, the number of staff, the type of organization (501(c)(3) public charity versus 501(c)(4) social welfare organization), the activity areas (local, state, national, or international level), and the nonprofit's location (Washington, D.C. versus other areas).[16]

The conceptual model for an analysis of the representational role that organizations with a constituency focus play is as follows:

Delegation/trusteeship/educational style = $\beta 0 + \beta 1$(types of constituencies) + $\beta 2$(charity-related variables) + $\beta 3$(membership-related variables) + $\beta 4$(policy issue variable) + $\beta 5$(organizational attribute variables) + ν

In order to analyze the degree to which the four characteristics of members, constituents, and the general public can explain the relationships between representational styles and foci, a third conceptual model is utilized. In this model, dependent variables denote the likelihood of nonprofit organizations embracing the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles. Independent variables of interest are the four types of characteristics of focal groups: the level of interest in policy issues, the level of knowledge about policy issues, the level of difficulty in discerning policy preferences as a proxy variable for the degree of diverse policy preferences, and the level of capacity to influence organizations. Other key independent variables are the three representational foci: membership focus, constituency focus, and general public focus.

[16] To avoid over-control, the variables of subsector fields were deleted from this model because the types of constituencies (students and patients) may largely overlap with the variables of subsector fields (higher education and hospitals).

To test organizational maintenance-related concerns about donations and volunteers, the conceptual model includes the level of dependence on donations and the number of volunteers. In addition, membership status, the number of individual members, and the number of organizational members are included in the model to test organizational maintenance-related concerns about membership. Control variables are the policy issue variable, the number of staff, the type of organization, the subsector field, the activity areas, and the nonprofit's location.

The conceptual model for an analysis of the effects of the four characteristics of representational foci on the representational role is as follows:

Delegation/trusteeship/educational style = $\gamma 0 + \gamma 1$(characteristics of representational foci) + $\gamma 2$(types of representational foci) + $\gamma 3$(charity-related variables) + $\gamma 4$(membership-related variables) + $\gamma 5$(policy issue variable) + $\gamma 6$(organizational attribute variables) + η

In order to analyze the degree to which the four characteristics of constituencies can explain the relationships between representational styles and the type of constituency, a fourth conceptual model is employed. In this model, dependent variables denote the degree to which organizations with a constituency focus practice the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles. Independent variables of interest are the four types of constituencies' characteristics: the level of interest in policy issues, the level of knowledge about policy issues, the level of difficulty in discerning policy preferences as a proxy variable for the degree of diverse policy preferences, and the level of capacity to influence organizations. Other key independent variables are the nine types of

constituencies: professionals, children, students, patients, local communities, people in poverty, women or racial minorities, other types of constituencies, and the unknown type of constituency.

To test organizational maintenance-related concerns about donations and volunteers, the model includes the level of dependence on donations and the number of volunteers. In addition, membership status, the number of individual members, and the number of organizational members are included in the model to test the organizational maintenance-related concerns about membership. Control variables are the policy issue variable, the number of staff, the type of organization, the activity areas, and the nonprofit's location.

The conceptual model for an analysis of the effects of the four characteristics of constituencies on the representational role played by organizations with a constituency focus is as follows:

Delegation/trusteeship/educational style = $\lambda 0 + \lambda 1$(characteristics of constituencies) + $\lambda 2$(types of constituencies) + $\lambda 3$(charity-related variables) + $\lambda 4$(membership-related variables) + $\lambda 5$(policy issue variable) + $\lambda 6$(organizational attribute variables) + φ

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

This study uses data derived from organizations' Internal Revenue Service (IRS) Form 990s. The annual tax forms provide details on organizations' backgrounds, revenues and expenses, financial activities, directors and key employees, and a description of program services. In addition, this research collected data through mixed-mode surveys that consisted of web and mail questionnaires. The mixed-mode surveys investigated how officers in nonprofit organizations viewed their roles in political representation. From February 2010 to August 2010, a pilot survey was conducted in order to evaluate the sampling framework, questionnaire, and survey procedures and to test several working hypotheses. After revising the sampling framework, questionnaire, and survey procedures, a final survey was carried out from October 2010 to April 2011. The response rates were 33.6% (110 responses) in the pilot survey and 57.5% (729 responses) in the final survey; this is exceptionally high for a survey of nonprofit organizations.

Sampling Methods

The target population for this study was 501(c)(3) public charities and 501(c)(4) social welfare organizations involved in advocacy activities at the local, state, national, or international level. It included not only organizations whose primary purpose was advocacy, but also organizations that employed policy advocacy as a tool to achieve their goals. In addition, as long as a local or state chapter of a national organization was

incorporated as a separate 501(c)(3) public charity or 501(c)(4) social welfare organization, it was included in this sampling frame. The sampling sources were the IRS Form 990 data from the National Center for Charitable Statistics at the Urban Institute (NCCS). In this survey, nonprofit organizations engaged in policy advocacy were defined as organizations that either (1) chose the 501(h) election,[17] (2) reported lobbying expenditures in the prior three years (2005, 2006, or 2007), (3) were coded "civil rights, social action and advocacy" under the National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities (NTEE) Core Codes,[18] (4) were coded "alliances and advocacy" under the NTEE Common Codes,[19] or (5) were coded "legislative and political activities" under the IRS Activity Codes (NCCS).[20, 21]

Religious congregations and organizations with annual budgets under $25,000 were excluded from the master list of nonprofit organizations involved in policy advocacy. These organizations were not required by the IRS to file annual tax returns at

[17] The 501(h) election indicates that a nonprofit organization has the intention of lobbying because the only reason to take the H election is to escape the restriction of the substantial limitation on lobbying (Berry & Arons, 2003).

[18] The NTEE Core Codes classify an organization based on its institutional purposes. "Civil rights, social action and advocacy category" is coded as "R" under the major groups. The organization list for this survey includes R20 (civil rights), R21 (immigrants' rights), R22 (minority rights), R23 (disabled persons' rights), R24 (womens' rights), R25 (seniors' rights), R26 (lesbian and gay rights), R27 (patients' rights), R28 (childrens' rights), R29 (employee and workers' rights), R30 (intergroup and race relations), R40 (voter education and registration), R60 (civil liberties), R61 (reproductive rights), R62 (right to life), R63 (censorship and freedom of speech and press), R67 (right to die and euthanasia), and R99 (other civil rights, social action and advocacy) categories.

[19] The NTEE Common Codes classify an organization based on its activities. "Alliance and advocacy" is coded as 01 under the decile level codes. The organization list for this survey includes all organizations coded "01" under the decile level codes except religious-related organizations.

[20] When organizations apply to the IRS for their tax exempt status, they are asked to indicate up to three primary areas of activity, using the IRS Activity Code system. The organization list for this study includes organizations which are coded 480 (propose, support, or oppose legislation), 481 (voter information on issues or candidates), 482 (voter education), or 509 (other legislative and political activities).

[21] In the pilot survey, organizations coded as "advocacy or attempt to influence public opinion" under the IRS activity codes were included in the database. However, this category was largely dominated by local chapters of a single national organization. Additionally, in telephone interviews, several executive directors of these local chapters said that they participated in advocacy activities regardless of their local chapters. Thus, it was uncertain whether these small local chapters as organizations or executive directors as individuals were involved in policy advocacy. Also, the response rate was statistically significantly lower than that of other categories. Hence, this category was excluded from the database in the final survey.

that time; therefore, it was impossible to get a representative sample of these organizations from the Form 990s. In addition, private foundations were removed from the master list because these foundations must follow a different and rigidly restrictive set of tax rules governing their participation in the public policy process (IRS, 2012d). Also, organizations that did not file annual tax returns during the prior two years (2006 and 2007) were omitted from the master list since it is highly likely that many of these organizations were defunct.[22] In fact, the pilot survey results showed that the web and mail surveys failed in reaching many of the organizations that did not file annual tax returns during the prior two years and that the response rate from these organizations was much lower than the response rate from organizations that filed tax returns to the IRS.

The sampling process generated a population of 20,207 nonprofit organizations engaged in policy advocacy for the surveys. For the pilot survey, 327 organizations were randomly chosen from the population, and for the final survey, 1,280 organizations were randomly sampled from the population.

Survey Execution

Both the pilot and final surveys employed mixed-mode surveys that consisted of web and mail questionnaires. First, the mixed-mode surveys asked nonprofit officers whose email addresses were publicly available to reply to the web questionnaire. Second, nonprofit officers who had no publicly available email addresses or who had not answered the web survey but had not declined to participate in the survey were asked to respond the mail questionnaires. This strategy of the mixed-mode survey data collection

[22] The Pension Protection Act of 2006 gave the IRS the authority to revoke the tax-exempt status of nonprofit organizations that did not file their tax returns or notices with the IRS for three consecutive years so that the IRS could better figure out which organizations no longer existed.

was chosen because it helped reduce coverage and non-response errors, lower the costs of data collection, and increase response rates (Dillman, Smyth, & Christian, 2009).

The target recipients of the survey were mainly executive directors. Because most nonprofit organizations are modest in size, executive directors seem to be familiar with their organizations' activities (Berry et al., 2003). Thus, executive directors were appropriate people to answer the survey. However, for organizations that had directors of public policy or government relations, the survey asked these directors rather than executive directors to respond to the survey. To personalize the survey emails and letters, target recipients' names and email addresses were collected and their mailing addresses were confirmed with their Form 990s and websites. For the mail survey, the target recipient's name and address were written by hand, and a postage stamp was placed on a survey envelope in order to increase the likelihood that the target recipients would open and respond to the survey. In addition, the questionnaire mailing included the letterhead of the Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University, a cover letter, a questionnaire, and a self-addressed stamped return envelope rather than a business reply envelope.

From February 2010 to August 2010, the pilot web and postal surveys were conducted with 327 randomly sampled organizations. From February 2010 to April 2010, pre-notice emails, invitation emails, and two reminder emails were sent to 219 organizations that made executive directors' email addresses publicly available. The response rate was 22.4% (49 responses). From June 2010 to August 2010, the pilot mail survey was carried out, sending pre-notice letters, invitation letters, and two reminder letters to 266 organizations that had not participated in the web survey but that had not declined to participate. The response rate reached 22.9% (61 responses). In the pilot

survey, the combined web and mail survey response rate achieved 33.6% (110 responses out of 327 sample organizations).

After making several changes in the sampling framework, questionnaire, and survey procedures on the basis of what had been learned from the pilot survey, the final web and postal mail surveys were conducted with 1,280 randomly sampled organizations from October 2010 to April 2011. From October 2010 to November 2010, pre-notice emails, invitation emails, and three follow-up emails were sent to 1,197 organizations that made executive directors' email addresses publicly available. The response rate was 31.3% (374 responses).[23] From January 2011 to April 2011, the final mail survey was carried out, sending pre-notice letters, invitation letters, and three follow-up mailings to 864 organizations that had not participated in the web survey but that had not declined to participate. The response rate was 41.5% (355 responses).[24] Of 1,280 organizations in the sample data set for the final survey, nine organizations were defunct, two organizations were converted to for-profits, and one organization was a government agency, resulting in a universe of 1,268 organizations. As a result, the combined final web and mail survey response rate achieved 57.5% (729 responses out of 1,268 sample organizations); this is exceptionally high for a survey of nonprofit organizations.

To ensure that only nonprofit organizations involved in some advocacy activities in the prior three years were analyzed in this research, organizations that either (1) had practiced direct advocacy, (2) had engaged in grassroots advocacy, or (3) had

[23] Three former staff members stated that their organizations were defunct.
[24] One former staff member said that her organization had stopped functioning. In addition, two staff members said that their organizations had been converted to for-profit companies, and one staff member stated that his organization was not a nonprofit, but a government agency. Also, organizations that had neither publicly available email addresses nor physical addresses for postal services were categorized as defunct in the final survey. Five organizations fell under this category.

communicated at the invitation of policy makers in the prior three years were included in the data analysis. As a result, the number of nonprofit organizations used in most of the data analysis was 689 organizations.

Survey Questions

Several drafts of the survey questionnaire were developed with substantial input from my dissertation committee members, lobbyists in advocacy organizations, and professional staff members in nonprofit organizations. The survey questionnaire was designed to capture data that would illuminate the representational roles that nonprofit organizations played in policy advocacy. In addition, the survey questionnaire asked questions about organizational activities in the prior three years (2008, 2009, and 2010). The survey questionnaire was comprised of the following three parts: background information, advocacy activities, and relationships between an organization and its interested parties, such as members, constituents, the general public, donors, and policy makers. The mail survey questionnaire had 24 questions and eight pages (see Appendix for additional information about the survey questionnaire used for this research). In the web survey, the number of questions asked varied depending on each respondent's answers.

The main aim of the questionnaire was to identify whom an organization intended mainly to serve (representational focus) and how it advocated for its focal group (representational style). To measure representational focus, the questionnaire used a survey question that asked: "Which one of the following statements best describes your organization? (1) Your organization aims at serving mainly your members. (2) Your

organization aims at serving mainly your constituents. (3) Your organization aims at serving mainly the general public." The term "constituents" referred to a group of people whom a nonprofit organization serves, including both members and non-members.[25] When a respondent chose "Your organization aims at serving mainly your constituents," he or she was asked to indicate "who your primary constituents are – the main people that your organization serves."

Representational styles were measured by asking: "In the event that a majority of your members disagrees with your policy positions, how likely is it that your organization would take the following action? (1) You would support the positions of a majority of your members rather than your positions. (2) You would act on your own initiative based on your own assessment of the issue. (3) You would educate your members so that they will be more receptive to your positions." Respondents answered these questions on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 was "very unlikely," 1 was "somewhat unlikely," 2 was "somewhat likely," and 3 was "very likely." A "don't know" option for these questions was not offered. The same questions were asked of respondents regarding constituents, the general public, donors, and policy makers.

When a nonprofit organization is in harmony with its focal group in terms of its policy positions, policy preferences expressed by its focal group may simply coincide with what the organization independently identifies as the interest of those being served. Thus, it is difficult to distinguish whether the organization follows its focal group's mandates or makes independent judgment about its representation. To clearly ascertain whether the organization employs the delegation or trusteeship style, the questionnaire

[25] The survey questionnaire showed respondents the definition of the term 'constituents" used in this research.

asked a nonprofit officer what the organization considers as a superior authority in a controversial situation in which a majority of its focal group disagrees with the organization's policy positions.

To explore relationships between a nonprofit organization and its focal group, the survey questionnaire asked several questions about what a nonprofit officer perceived about the characteristics of those being served: the perceived level of their interest in policy issues, the perceived proportion of their agreement with the nonprofit's policy position, the perceived level of their knowledge regarding policy issues, the perceived level of their trust in the organization, the perceived level of their capacity to influence the organization, the level of difficulty in discerning their policy preferences, and the frequency of surveys of their policy concerns.[26] These variables were used for analyses of relationships between representational foci and styles.

Limitations of the Survey Methodology

The main limitation is that this survey methodology confines findings from the mixed-mode surveys to the perceptions of officers in nonprofit organizations. It is possible that nonprofit members, constituents, and the general public view organizational activities differently from nonprofit officers. Thus, this survey cannot answer a question about the representational congruence between nonprofit organizations and those being served. However, because this survey is intended to illuminate for whom organizations aim mainly to advocate and how they see themselves representing their focal groups in

[26] In the pilot survey, the category of "members" was divided into two types of members: "individual members" and "organizational members." However, there were no significant differences between answers to questions about "individual members" and "organizational members." Thus, these variables were collapsed into the single category of "members" in the final survey.

policy advocacy, no one can answer these research questions more precisely than nonprofit officers. In addition, nonprofit officers' perceptions can directly affect their organizational behaviors in political representation. Hence, the perceptions of nonprofit officers are not the last word but are highly useful in addressing these research questions.

Another limitation is that nonprofit officers may answer the questions in a biased manner. Because they have strategic interests, there is reason to be concerned about the validity of the survey responses. However, large-scale surveys have been commonly used to collect data in many important studies of advocacy organizations (Berry & Arons, 2005; Kollman, 1998; Scholzman & Tierney, 1986; Strolovitch, 2007; Walker, 1991). In addition, when the survey responses were checked, the respondents' answers appeared to have little inconsistency regarding key variables.[27] Thus, the methodology used in this survey did not appear to cause nonprofit officers to give seriously biased answers to the survey questions, and the survey responses appeared largely valid.

Also, using the web and mail surveys may have introduced measurement errors because respondents may have answered the same questions differently depending on the modes of data collection. However, the effects of visual layout are largely similar in web and mail surveys (Dillman, Smyth, & Christian, 2009). Because both the web and mail surveys used for this research had similar visual layouts, measurement errors were minimized.

[27] For instance, few respondents answered "very likely" in questions about both the delegation and trusteeship styles. Because these representational styles are mutually exclusive, it is inconsistent to answer "very likely" to both questions. However, it is perfectly consistent to answer 'very unlikely" to both questions, since some organizations simply avoid working on a controversial issue when their focal groups disagree with these organizations.

Descriptive Statistics

The results of the final survey were compared closely to the master list of organizations and the random sample of organizations. This comparison shows that the random sample of organizations and final survey results have organizations with larger revenues than the master-list of organizations (see Table 4.1). However, data on criterion variables, such as the NTEE category, the IRS code, the 501(h) election, lobbying activities, and year founded do not differ significantly among these data sets.

The comparison between the final web survey results and the final mail survey results demonstrates that there are no significant differences between the survey modes in terms of data on key variables (see Table 4.2). However, there are some statistical differences with respect to the NTEE classification (the category of hospitals and primary care facilities), the IRS activity codes, and the 501(h) election. Hospitals and primary care facilities were more likely to answer the mail survey. Because many hospitals did not make their contact information (executive directors' email addresses) publicly available on their web sites, they were asked to participate in the survey only by postal mail. In addition, organizations that took the 501(h) election were more likely to participate in the mail survey, and organizations that reported legislative and political activities as one of the primary areas under the IRS activity codes were more likely to respond to the web survey.

Regression Analysis Models

For the regression analyses, the unit of analysis is an organization. The survey questionnaire measured the dependent variables as the likelihood of organizations

adopting the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 was "very unlikely," 1 was "somewhat unlikely," 2 was "somewhat likely," and 3 was "very likely." Thus, the dependent variables are ordinal variables. The sample observations are independent because they are randomly derived from a population of 501(c)(3) public charities and 501(c)(4) social welfare organizations involved in policy advocacy. In addition, multiple independent variables are included in the statistical models. Hence, the ordered probit regression models are utilized for the statistical analyses.

Table 4.1. Comparison of Descriptive Statistics Among Master List of Organizations, Random Sample of Organizations, and Final Survey Respondents

		Master list of organizations		Random sample of organizations		Final survey respondents	
Sample number		20,207		1,280		729	
Charitable status	501(c)(3)	18,974	93.9%	1,173	91.6%	676	92.7%
	501(c)(4)	1,233	6.1%	107	8.4%	52	7.1%
State	Washington, D.C.	997	4.9%	101	7.9%	51	7.0%
Year founded	Median	1989		1987		1987	
Revenues (2007)	Median	$788,245		$1,229,124		$1,217,644	
NTEE classification (12 major groups)	Arts, culture, & humanities	1,233	6.1%	74	5.8%	40	5.5%
	Higher education	351	1.7%	26	2.0%	12	1.6%
	Other education	2,375	11.8%	163	12.7%	98	13.4%
	Environment & animals	1,975	9.8%	134	10.5%	81	11.1%
	Hospitals & primary care facilities	1,394	6.9%	90	7.0%	32	4.4%
	Other health care	3,200	15.8%	193	15.1%	112	15.4%
	Human services	4,435	21.9%	260	20.3%	162	22.2%
	International & foreign affairs	361	1.8%	28	2.2%	15	2.1%
	Mutual & membership benefit	18	0.1%	1	0.1%	1	0.1%
	Public & societal benefit	4,862	24.1%	311	24.3%	175	24.0%
NTEE classification	Alliances & advocacy	4,373	21.6%	264	20.6%	145	19.9%
	Civil rights, social action & advocacy	2,513	12.4%	165	12.9%	92	12.6%
IRS activity codes	Legislative & political activities	615	3.0%	46	3.6%	23	3.2%
501(h) election	Yes	6,926	34.3%	498	38.9%	283	38.8%
Lobbying expenditures	Yes	9,444	46.7%	590	46.1%	350	48.0%

Table 4.2. Comparison of Descriptive Statistics Between Final Web Survey Results and Final Mail Survey Results

		Final web survey results		Final mail survey results	
Sample number		374		355	
Charitable status	501(c)(3)	341	91.2%	335	94.4%
	501(c)(4)	33	8.8%	19	5.4%
State	Washington, D.C.	31	8.3%	20	5.6%
Year founded	Median	1988		1986	
Revenues (2007)	Median	$1,185,738		$1,229,124	
NTEE classification (12 major groups)	Arts, culture, & humanities	20	5.3%	20	5.6%
	Higher education	9	2.4%	3	0.8%
	Other education	52	13.9%	46	13.0%
	Environment & animals	41	11.0%	40	11.3%
	Hospitals & primary care facilities	12	3.2%	20	5.6%
	Other health care	59	15.8%	53	14.9%
	Human services	81	21.7%	81	22.8%
	International & foreign affairs	7	1.9%	8	2.3%
	Mutual & membership benefit	1	0.3%	0	0%
	Public & societal benefit	92	24.6%	83	23.4%
NTEE classification	Alliances & advocacy	80	21.4%	65	18.3%
	Civil rights, social action & advocacy	51	13.6%	41	11.5%
IRS activity codes	Legislative & political activities	17	4.5%	6	1.7%
501(h) election	Yes	127	34.0%	156	43.9%
Lobbying expenditures	Yes	187	50.0%	163	45.9%

CHAPTER FIVE

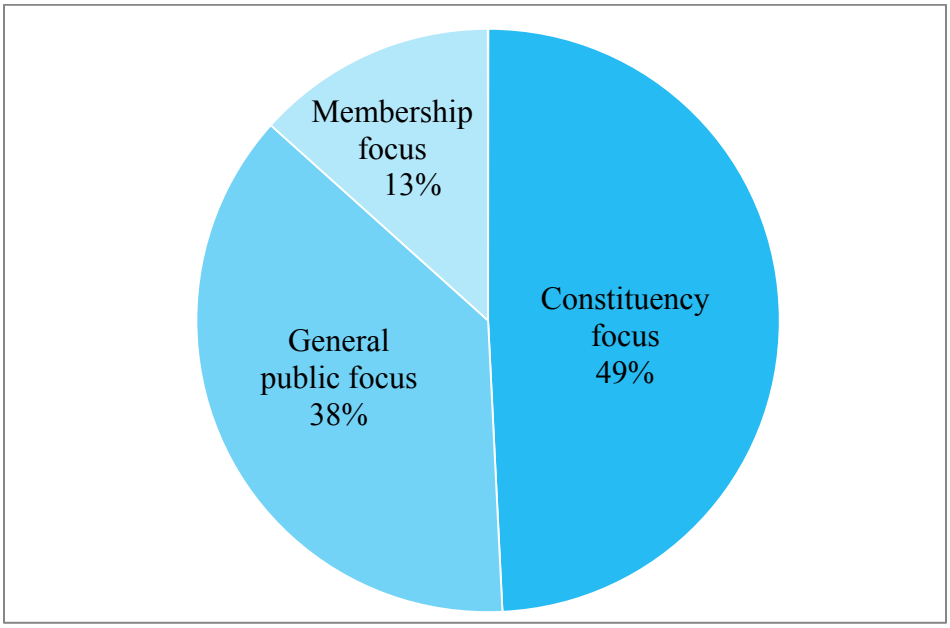
SURVEY RESULTS

This chapter reports the survey results that illuminate the representational role nonprofit organizations play in policy advocacy. The representational role refers to the relationships between representational styles and foci (Eulau et al., 1959; Eulau, 1962a, 1962b). In the case of nonprofit organizations, the focal dimension of the representational role denotes whom organizations aim primarily to serve: members, constituents, or the general public. The stylistic dimension of the representational role shows how organizations speak and act on behalf of members, constituents, or the general public, using the delegation style, the trusteeship style, or the educational style.

Because nonprofit organizations aim to act for members, constituents, or the general public in political representation, these focal groups may have a voice in how organizations advocate for them. Thus, members, constituents, and the general public could affect organizations' advocacy work to varying degrees. Furthermore, the degree to which they affect organizations' advocacy could depend on the characteristics of these focal groups (Eulau et al., 1959; Eulau, 1962a, 1962b). In particular, the distinctive characteristics of these focal groups, such as different levels of interest in policy issues, different levels of knowledge regarding policy issues, various degrees of diverse policy preferences, and different levels of capacity to influence organizations, could affect what representational role organizations play in policy advocacy.

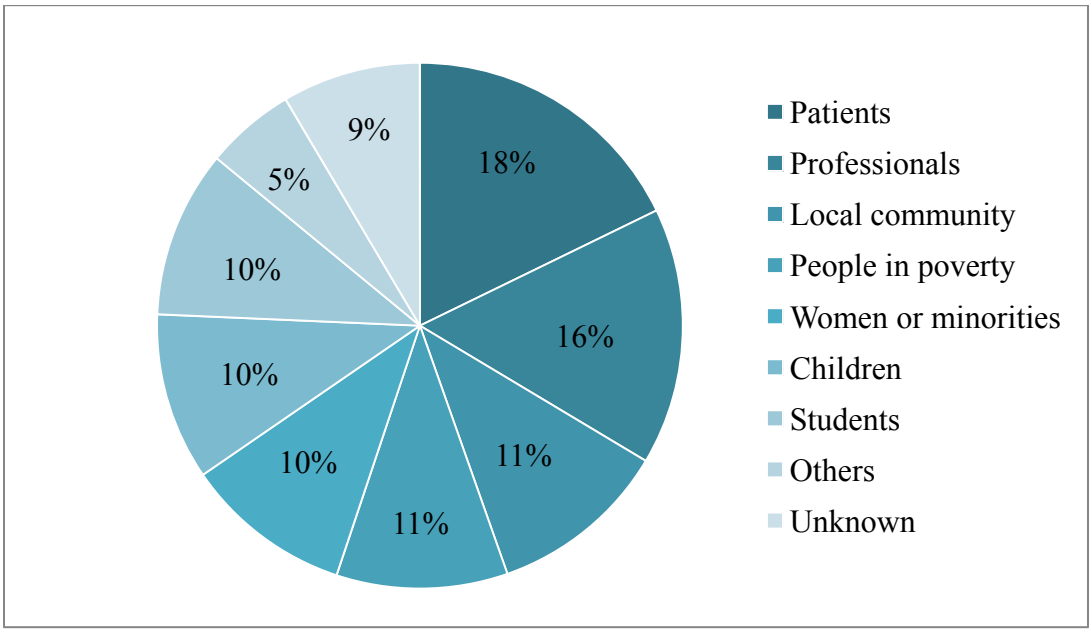
Representational Foci

Figure 5.1. Types of Representational Foci



While nonprofit organizations may serve various groups depending on policy issues, the survey asked nonprofit officers whom their organizations aimed primarily to serve. The results show that about 13% of the organizations surveyed (92 organizations) aim to speak mainly for their members, and approximately 38% (258 organizations) aim to advocate primarily for the general public. On the other hand, roughly 49% (339 organizations) aim to act chiefly for their constituents (see Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.2. Types of Constituencies Whom Nonprofits Mainly Serve

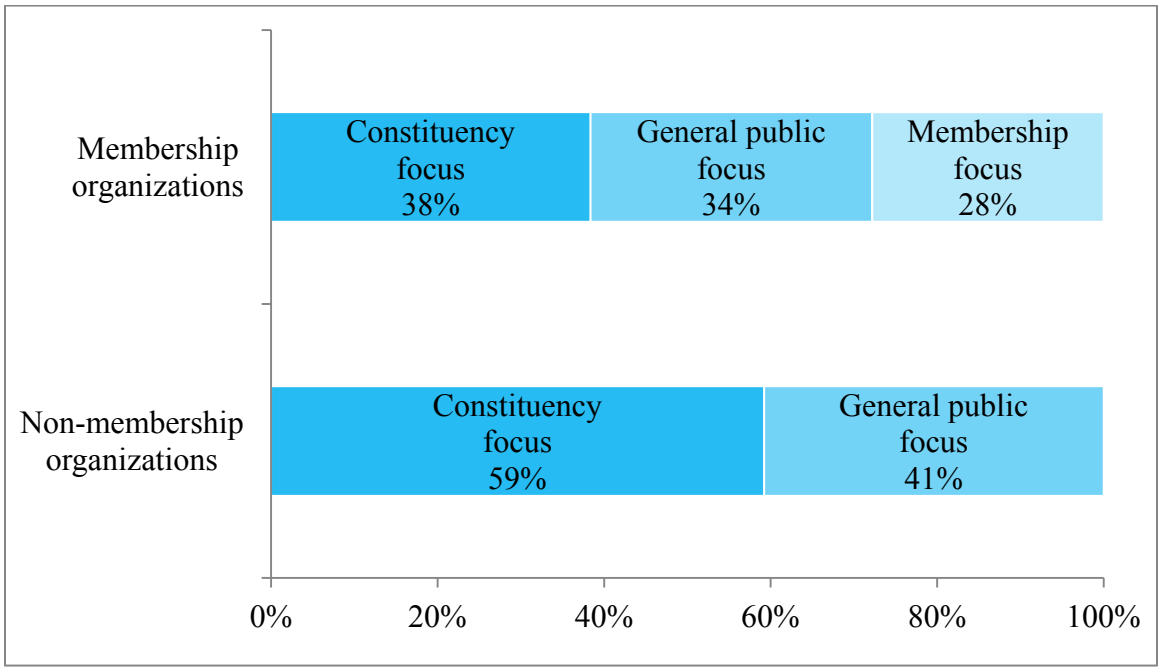


Nonprofit organizations with a constituency focus were asked about who their primary constituents were. The results show that about 18% of the organizations (71 organizations) answered that their core constituents were patients and the disabled. Approximately 16% (63 organizations) said that their primary constituents were professionals, such as scholars and researchers, nonprofit staff, and social service providers. Roughly 11% (44 organizations) reported that their main constituents were local communities, and another 11% (42 organizations) stated people in poverty. Around 10% (41 organizations) answered women or minorities, such as African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people. Approximately 10% (41 organizations) stated children, and another 10% (41 organizations) said students, including alumni.[28] About 5% (22 organizations) reported

[28] Some nonprofit organizations aim to serve constituents who consist of multiple categories, such as low income minorities and children with disabilities. In this research, low income minorities fall into two

other types of constituencies, such as senior citizens and people in foreign countries. Roughly 9% (34 organizations) did not indicate who their primary constituents were, and thus, their constituents are categorized as "unknown" (see Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.3. Comparison of Representational Foci, by Type of Membership Status

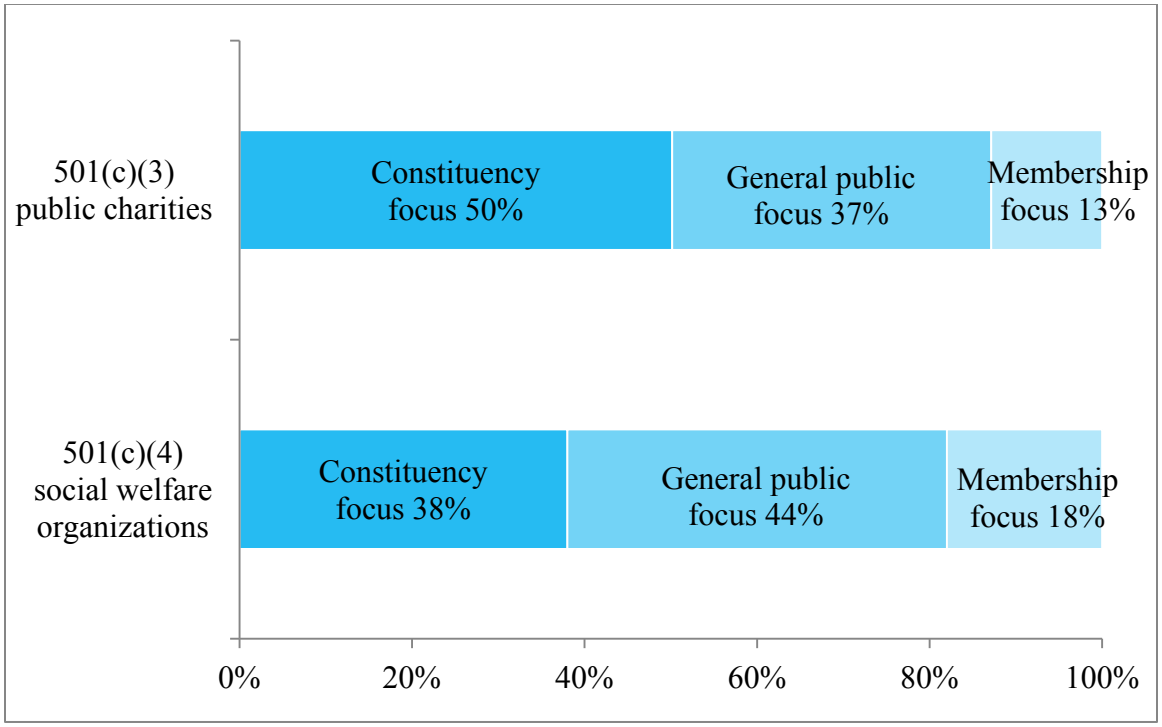


The survey results demonstrate that among membership organizations (331 organizations), approximately 38% (127 organizations) stated that they aimed primarily to serve their constituents. About 34% (112 organizations) said that they intended to advocate mainly for the general public. Roughly 28% (92 organizations) answered that they claimed to speak chiefly for their members. On the other hand, among non-membership organizations (358 organizations), around 59% (212 organizations) indicated that they aimed primarily to serve their constituents. Approximately 41% (146

categories: people in poverty and minorities. Similarly, children with disabilities fall into two categories: children and patients.

organizations) stated that they intended to advocate mainly for the general public (see Figure 5.3).

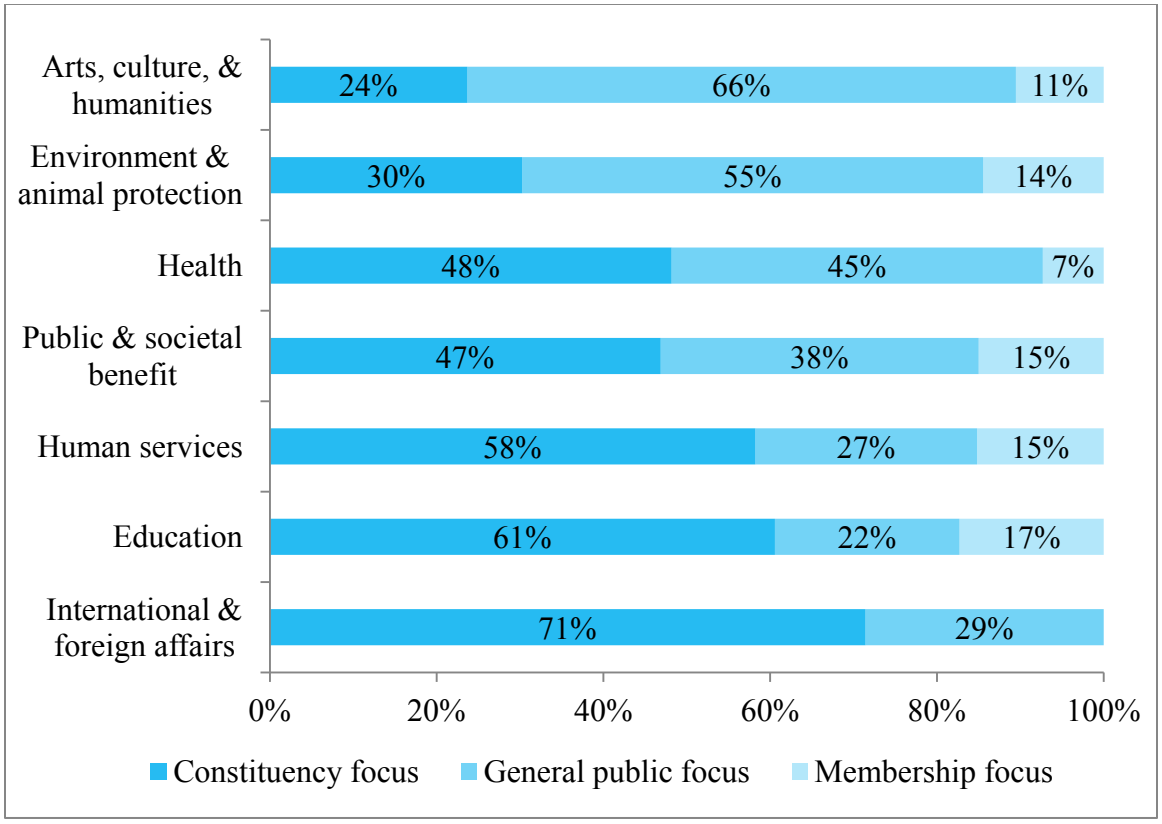
Figure 5.4. Comparison of Representational Foci, by Type of Tax Exempt Status



According to the survey results, among 501(c)(3) public charities (638 organizations), approximately 50% (320 organizations) stated that they aimed primarily to serve their constituents. About 37% (236 organizations) said that they intended to advocate mainly for the general public. Roughly 13% (82 organizations) answered that they claimed to speak chiefly for their members. On the other hand, among 501(c)(4) social welfare organizations (50 organizations), around 38% (19 organizations) indicated that they aimed primarily to serve their constituents. Approximately 44% (22 organizations) stated that they intended to advocate mainly for the general public.

Roughly 18% (9 organizations) said that they aimed to speak chiefly for their members (see Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.5. Comparison of Representational Foci, by Type of Subsector

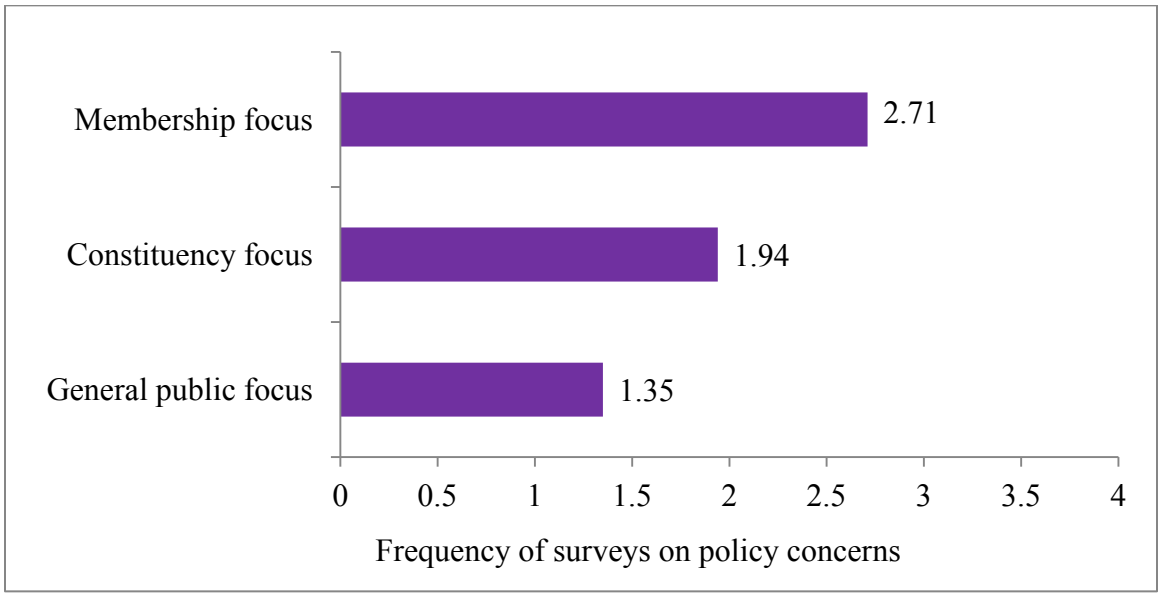


The survey results reveal that among arts, cultural, and humanities organizations (38 organizations) as well as environmental and animal protection organizations (76 organizations), the majority aims to advocate primarily for the general public. In contrast, among educational institutions (76 organizations), human service organizations (158 organizations), and international and foreign affairs organizations (14 organizations), the majority intends mainly to serve their constituents. Finally, among hospitals and health-related institutions (137 organizations) as well as public and societal benefit

organizations (160 organizations), about half of these organizations claim chiefly to serve their constituents, approximately 40% aim mainly to work on behalf of the general public, and around 10% intend to advocate primarily for their members (see Figure 5.5).

Relationships Between Organizations and Representational Foci

Figure 5.6. Comparison of Frequency of Nonprofits' Surveys on Their Focal Groups' Policy Concerns, by Type of Representational Focus

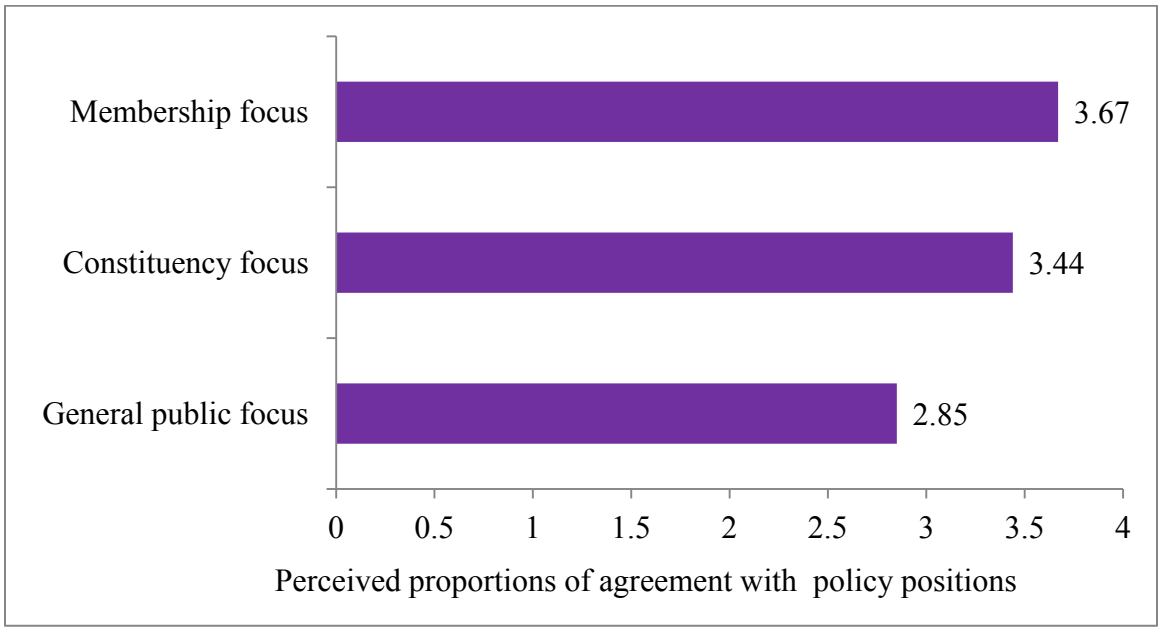


Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a question about the frequency of their surveys on policy concerns that their focal groups have on a scale of 0 to 4, where 0 is "never," 1 is "rarely," 2 is "sometimes," 3 is "often," and 4 is "very often." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

The survey asked nonprofit officers how frequently their organizations surveyed their focal groups in order to discern their focal groups' concerns about policy issues. The survey results demonstrate that, on average, organizations that aim to advocate mainly for their members often investigate their members' policy concerns. In contrast, organizations that intend to speak primarily for their constituents sometimes examine their constituents' policy concerns. However, organizations that claim chiefly to

represent the general public rarely inquire about the general public's policy concerns. The differences in the frequency of nonprofits' surveys on policy concerns of their focal groups are statistically significant at a less than 0.01 significance level.

Figure 5.7. Comparison of Perceived Proportions of Focal Groups' Agreement with Nonprofits' Policy Positions, by Type of Representational Focus

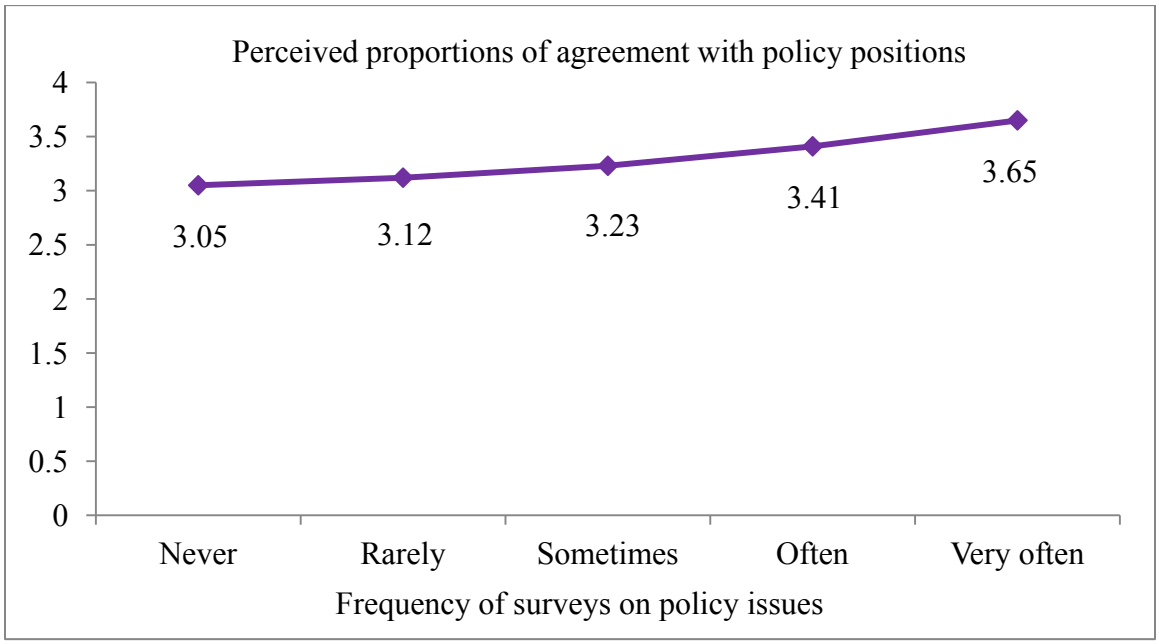


Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a question about what proportions of their focal groups agree with their policy positions on a scale of 0 to 4, where 0 is "none," 1 is "very few," 2 is "some," 3 is "many," and 4 is "almost all." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

The survey asked nonprofit officers what they perceived about the proportions of their focal groups who agreed with their policy positions. According to the survey results, on average, nonprofit officers whose organizations aim to advocate mainly for their members perceive that almost all of their members agree with their policy positions. Nonprofit officers whose organizations intend to speak primarily for their constituents perceive that a large majority of their constituents are in agreement with their policy

positions. On the contrary, nonprofit officers whose organizations claim chiefly to represent the general public perceive that less than a majority of the general public shares their organizations' policy positions. The differences in the perceived proportions of agreement with nonprofits' policy positions among the three representational foci are statistically significant at a less than 0.01 significance level.

Figure 5.8. Relationship Between Perceived Proportions of Focal Groups' Agreement with Nonprofits' Policy Positions and Frequency of Nonprofits' Surveys of Policy Concerns of Focal Groups



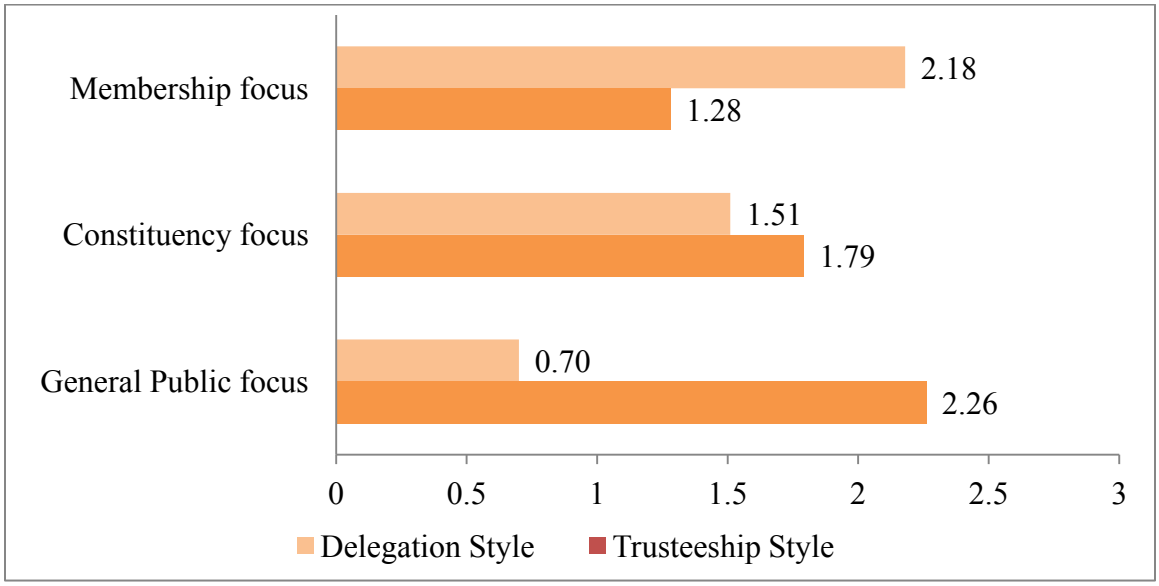
Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a question about what proportions of their focal groups agree with their policy positions on a scale of 0 to 4, where 0 is "none," 1 is "very few," 2 is "some," 3 is "many," and 4 is "almost all." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

The survey results illuminate that there is a positive correlation between how frequently nonprofit organizations survey their focal groups and what organizations perceive about the proportions of their focal groups who agree with their policy positions

(see Figure 5.8). When organizations more frequently conduct surveys of policy concerns of their focal groups, these organizations perceive that a larger proportion of their focal groups agree with their policy positions. This result suggests that when organizations deeply understand their focal groups' concerns through frequent surveys, they consider that their advocacy reflects their focal groups' voices very well.

Representational Styles

Figure 5.9. Comparison of the Likelihood of Nonprofits Adopting the Delegation and Trusteeship Styles, by Type of Representational Focus

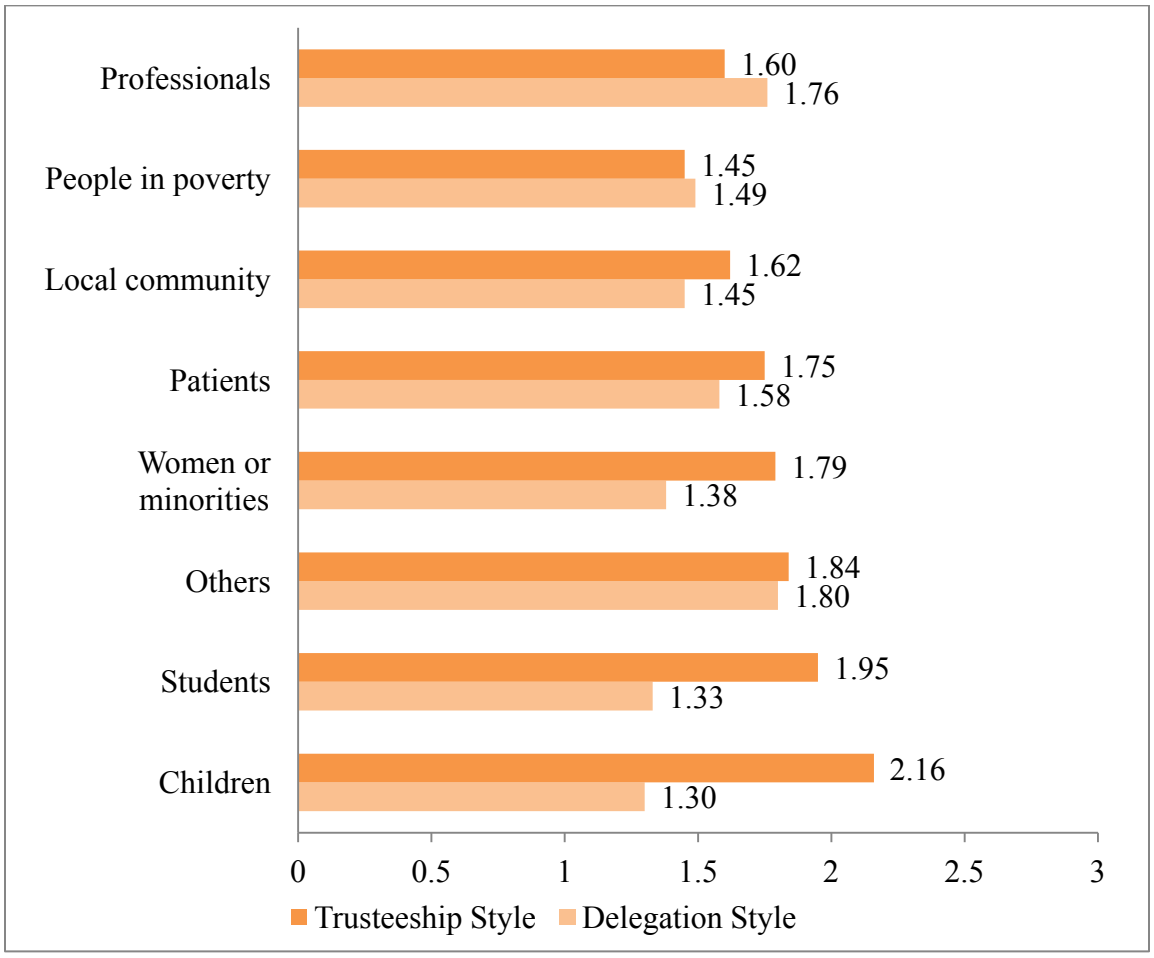


Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a series of questions about the likelihood of their organizations adopting the delegation and trusteeship styles on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very unlikely," 1 is "somewhat unlikely," 2 is "somewhat likely," and 3 is "very likely." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the questions.

The survey asked nonprofit officers a series of questions about the degree to which their organizations practice the delegation and trusteeship styles. The survey results demonstrate that the likelihood of organizations utilizing the delegation and trusteeship styles varies depending on the types of their focal groups (see Figure 5.9).

Organizations that aim primarily to serve their members are very likely to follow policy preferences expressed by their members, but they are somewhat unlikely to pursue what they independently consider to be their members' interests. In contrast, organizations that aim to advocate mainly for the general public are very likely to pursue what they independently identify as the interests of the general public, but they are very unlikely to follow the general public's opinions. Finally, organizations that aim chiefly to represent their constituents are somewhat more likely to practice the trusteeship style than the delegation style. However, the degree to which these organizations utilize the delegation and trusteeship styles varies depending on the type of their primary constituency (see Figure 5.10). The differences in the likelihood of organizations adopting the delegation and trusteeship styles within each representational focus are statistically significant at a less than 0.01 significance level.

Figure 5.10. Comparison of the Likelihood of Nonprofits Adopting the Delegation and Trusteeship Styles, by Type of Constituency

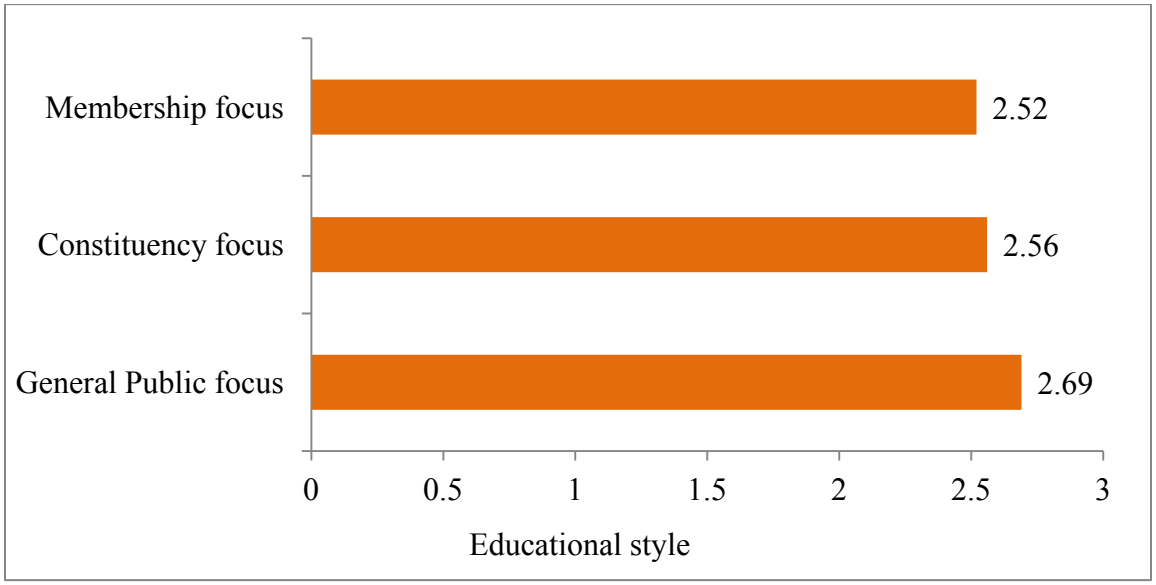


Note: Nonprofit officers whose organizations aim to primarily serve their constituents were asked a series of questions about the likelihood of their organizations adopting the delegation and trusteeship styles on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very unlikely," 1 is "somewhat unlikely," 2 is "somewhat likely," and 3 is "very likely." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the questions.

Nonprofit organizations that intend to advocate for women, minorities, children, or students are more likely to adopt the trusteeship style than the delegation style. The difference in the likelihood of adopting these two styles among organizations with a focus on children or students is statistically significant at a less than 0.01 significance level. The difference in the likelihood of utilizing these two styles among organizations

with a focus on women or minorities is statistically significant at a 0.05 significance level. However, there is no measurable difference in the likelihood of practicing these two styles among organizations that aim to speak for patients, professionals, local communities, or people in poverty. In summary, organizations with a focus on women, minorities, children, or students tend to pursue what they independently identify as the interests of their constituents rather than to follow preferences expressed by their constituents.

Figure 5.11. Comparison of the Likelihood of Nonprofits Adopting the Educational Style, by Type of Representational Focus

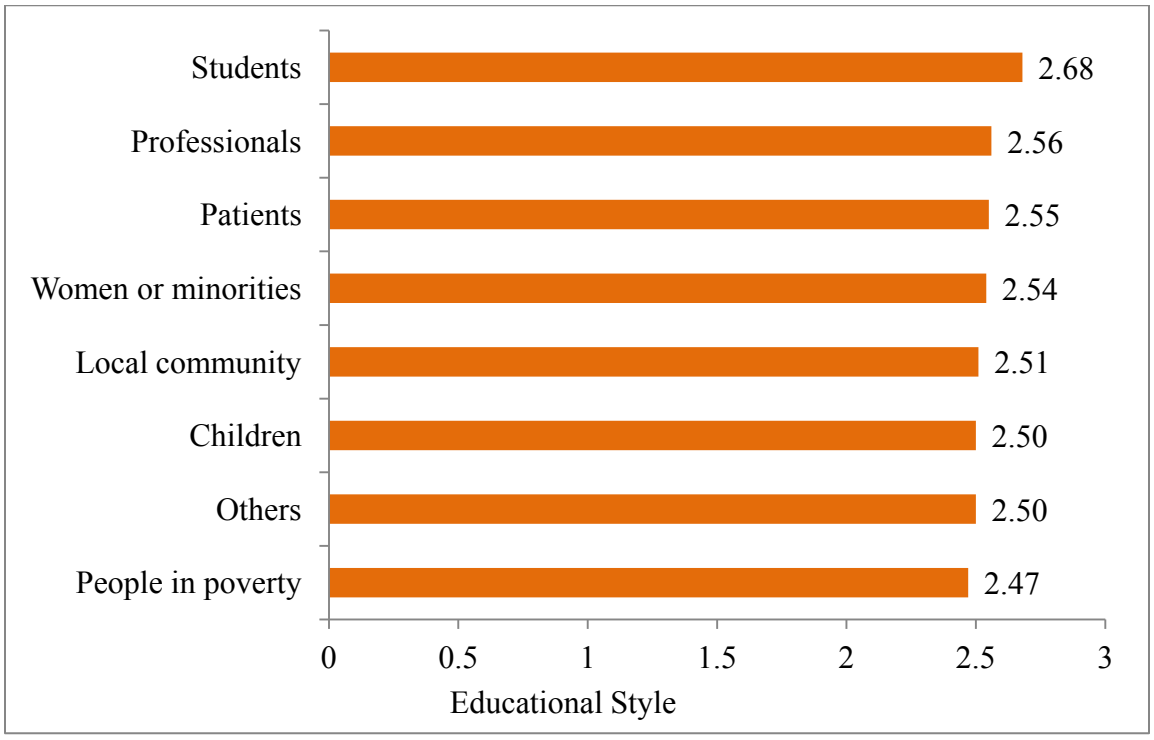


Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a question about the likelihood of their organizations adopting the educational style on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very unlikely," 1 is "somewhat unlikely," 2 is "somewhat likely," and 3 is "very likely." Data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

The survey results demonstrate that, in general, the three types of nonprofit organizations are very likely to adopt the educational style (see Figure 5.11). However, organizations that claim to advocate primarily for the general public are most likely to

work toward educating their focal groups. The difference between organizations with a general public focus and organizations with a membership or constituency focus is statistically significant at a less than 0.01 significance level in terms of the likelihood of adopting the educational style. On the other hand, there is no statistically significant difference in the likelihood of practicing the educational style between organizations with a membership focus and organizations with a constituency focus.

Figure 5.12. Comparison of the Likelihood of Nonprofits Adopting the Educational Style, by Type of Constituency



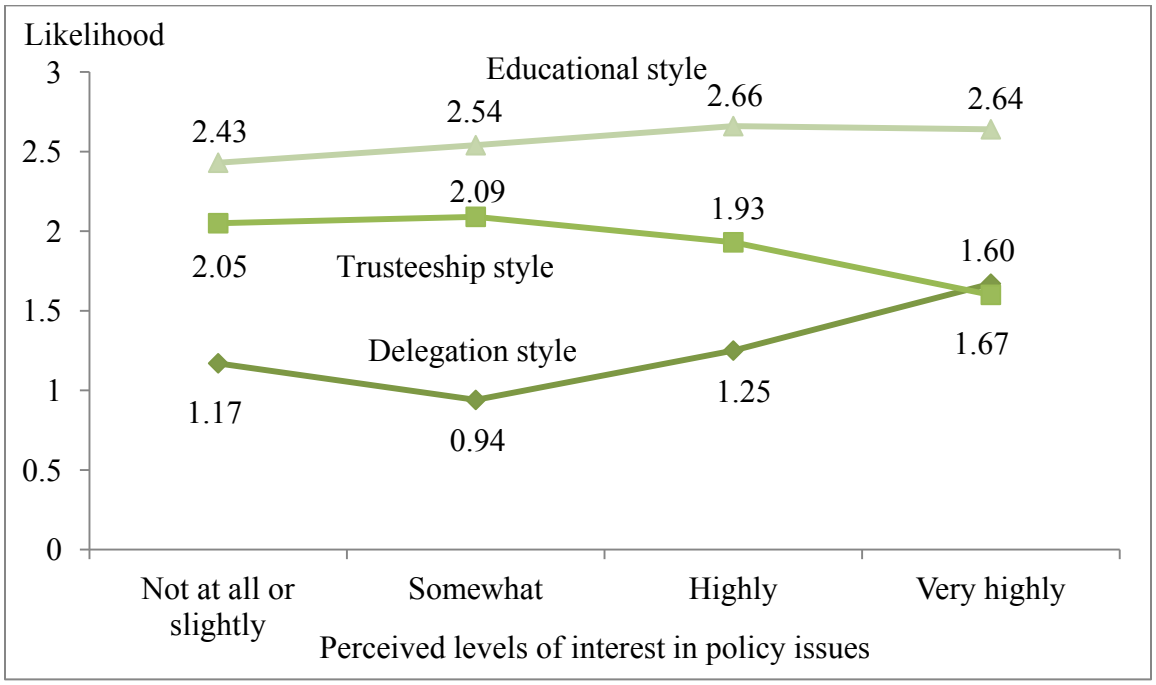
Note: Nonprofit officers whose organizations aim to mainly serve their constituents were asked a question about the likelihood of their organizations adopting the educational style on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very unlikely," 1 is "somewhat unlikely," 2 is "somewhat likely," and 3 is "very likely." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

The survey results show that there is no statistically significant difference among nonprofit organizations that claim to advocate mainly for their constituents in terms of the likelihood of these organizations utilizing the educational style (see Figure 5.12).

Effects of Characteristics of Representational Foci on Representational Styles

Members, constituents, and the general public may have distinctive characteristics that could affect the degree to which nonprofit organizations adopt the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles. These characteristics include different levels of interest in policy issues, different levels of knowledge about policy issues, various degrees of diverse policy preferences, and different levels of capacity to influence organizations. Although the survey did not directly measure these characteristics, it asked nonprofit officers what they perceived about these characteristics. While nonprofit officers' perceptions may not accurately reflect the characteristics of their focal groups, their perceptions are important for their organizations' representational styles because their perceptions directly affect their organizations' behaviors.

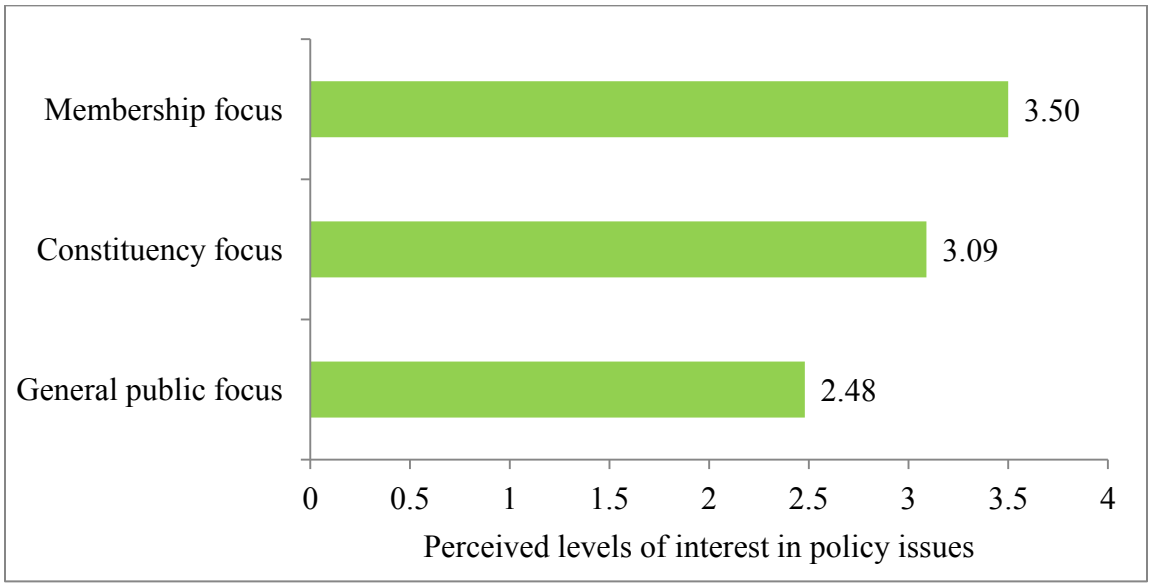
Figure 5.13. Comparison of the Likelihood of Nonprofits Adopting Representational Styles, by Perceived Levels of Focal Groups' Interest in Policy Issues



Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a series of questions about the likelihood of their organizations adopting the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very unlikely," 1 is "somewhat unlikely," 2 is "somewhat likely," and 3 is "very likely." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the questions.

The survey results demonstrate that the degree to which nonprofit organizations adopt the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles seems to vary depending on how much they perceive their focal groups have interest in relevant policy issues (see Figure 5.13). The more interest focal groups have in relevant policy issues, the more likely organizations are to follow opinions expressed by those being served. In turn, under this circumstance, organizations are somewhat less likely to pursue what they independently identify as the interests of their focal groups. In addition, these organizations are somewhat more likely to work toward educating those being served.

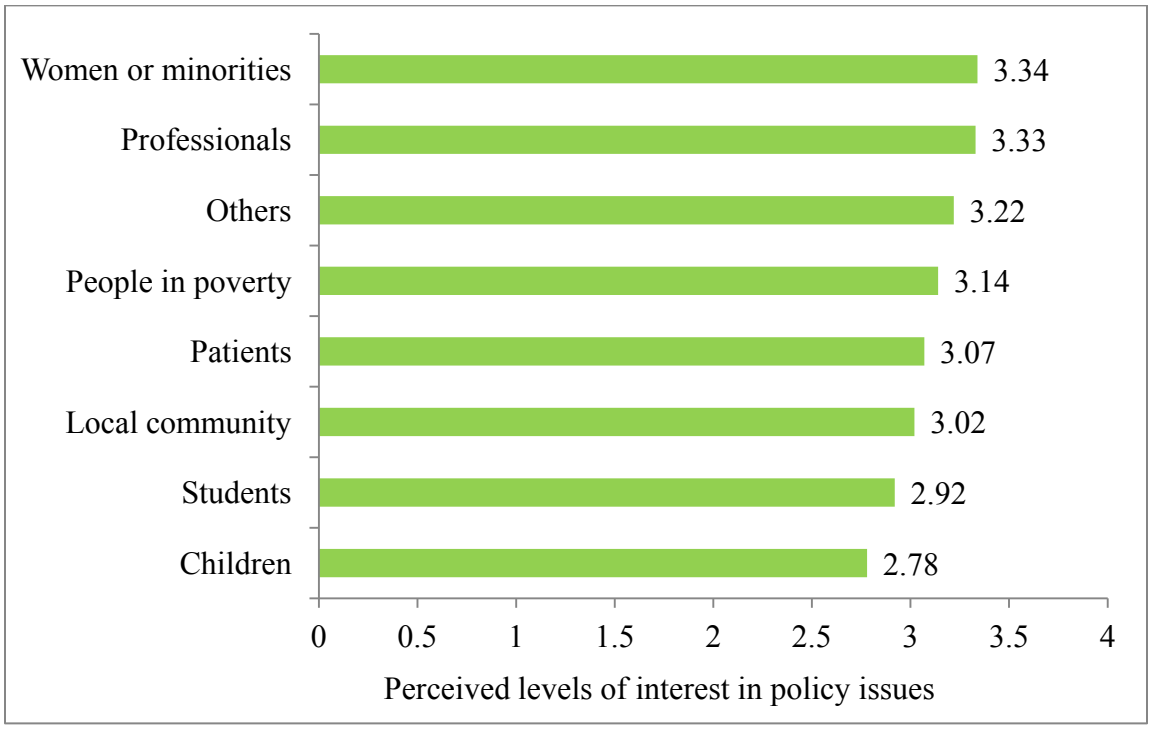
Figure 5.14. Comparison of Perceived Levels of Focal Groups' Interest in Policy Issues, by Type of Representational Focus



Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a question about how much their focal groups are interested in relevant policy issues on a scale of 0 to 4, where 0 is "not at all," 1 is "slightly," 2 is "somewhat," 3 is "highly," and 4 is "very highly." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

The survey results reveal that the perceived levels of interest focal groups have in relevant policy issues vary depending on their representational focus (see Figure 5.14). Nonprofit organizations that claim mainly to represent their members believe that their members are very highly interested in relevant policy issues. Organizations that claim to advocate primarily for their constituents perceive that their constituents have a lower interest in relevant policy issues. On the other hand, organizations that aim to speak chiefly for the general public believe that the general public, among the three types of focal groups, is the least interested in policy issues. The differences among representational foci are statistically significant at a less than 0.01 significance level.

Figure 5.15. Comparison of Perceived Levels of Constituencies' Interest in Policy Issues, by Type of Constituency

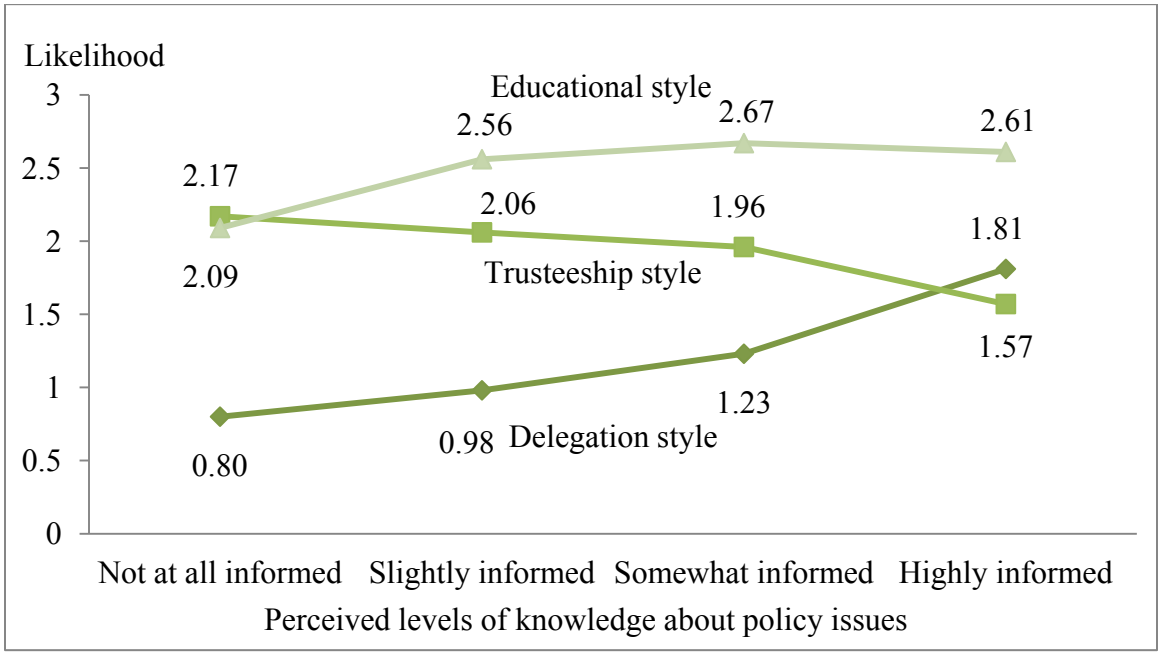


Note: Nonprofit officers whose organizations aim mainly to serve their constituents were asked a question about how much their constituents are interested in relevant policy issues on a scale of 0 to 4, where 0 is "not at all," 1 is "slightly," 2 is "somewhat," 3 is "highly," and 4 is "very highly." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

According to the survey results, the perceived levels of interest constituents have in relevant policy issues somewhat vary by the type of constituency (see Figure 5.15). Organizations that claim to advocate for professionals, women, or minorities believe that their constituents are very highly interested in relevant policy issues. In contrast, organizations that aim to speak for students or children perceive that their constituents, among all types of constituents, have the least interest in relevant policy issues. The difference is statistically significant at a less than 0.05 significance level among

organizations advocating for professionals, women, or minorities, organizations speaking for children or students, and organizations serving all other types of constituencies.

Figure 5.16. Comparison of the Likelihood of Nonprofits Adopting Representational Styles, by Perceived Levels of Focal Groups' Knowledge about Policy Issues

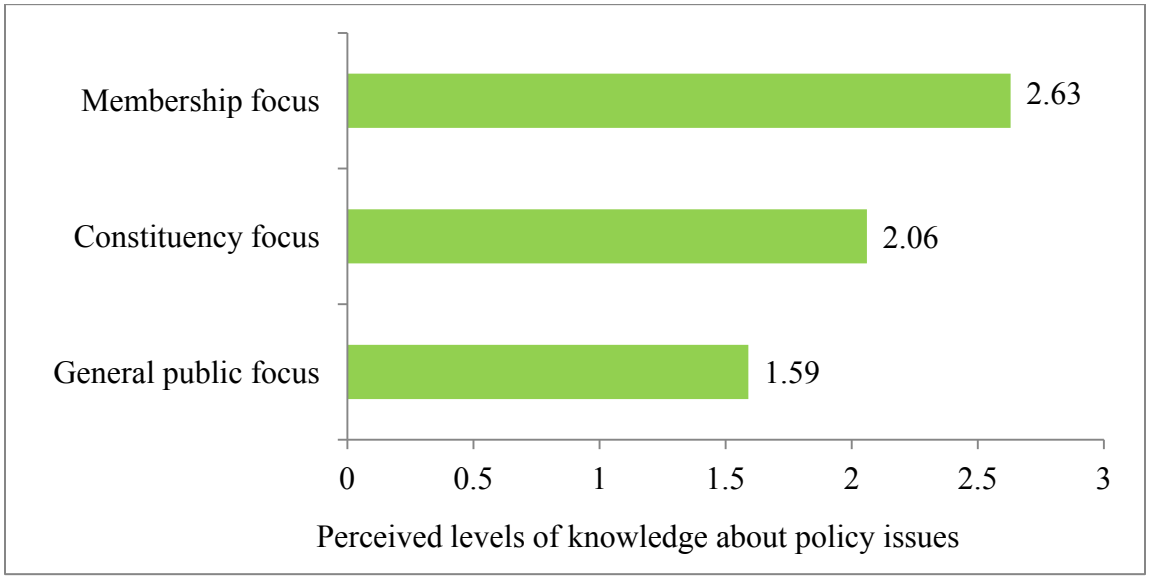


Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a series of questions about the likelihood of their organizations adopting the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very unlikely," 1 is "somewhat unlikely," 2 is "somewhat likely," and 3 is "very likely." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the questions.

The survey results show that the degree to which organizations adopt the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles seems to vary depending on how well they perceive their focal groups are informed regarding policy issues (see Figure 5.16). When organizations perceive that their focal groups are more informed about policy issues, they are more likely to follow opinions expressed by those being served. In turn, under this circumstance, organizations are less likely to pursue what they independently consider to be in the interests of their focal groups. On the other hand, the perceived levels of

knowledge regarding policy issues seem to be just slightly correlated with the degree to which organizations attempt to educate those being served.

Figure 5.17. Comparison of Perceived Levels of Focal Groups' Knowledge about Policy Issues, by Type of Representational Focus

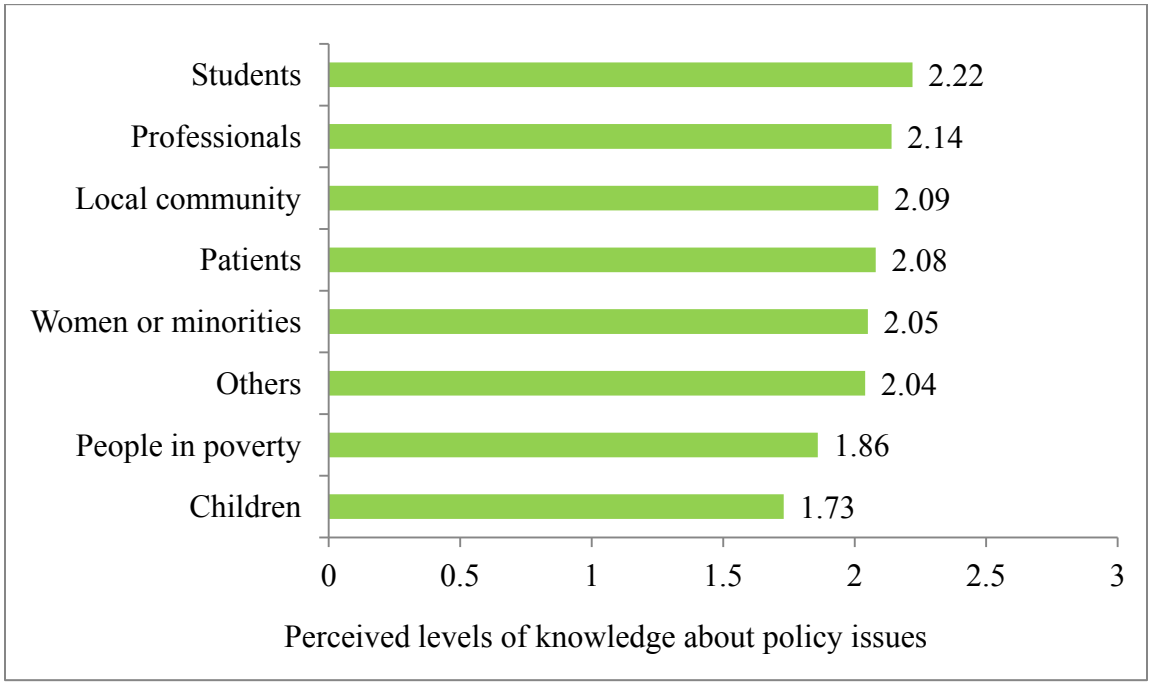


Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a question about levels of knowledge that their focal groups have about relevant policy issues on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "not at all informed," 1 is "slightly informed," 2 is "somewhat informed," and 3 is "highly informed." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

The survey results show that the perceived levels of knowledge focal groups have about policy issues vary depending on their representational focus (see Figure 5.17). Organizations that claim mainly to represent their members perceive their members as highly informed about policy issues. In contrast, organizations that aim to advocate primarily for their constituents believe that their constituents are less informed about policy issues. Finally, organizations that aim to speak chiefly for the general public perceive that the general public, among the three types of focal groups, is the least

informed about policy issues. The differences among representational foci are statistically significant at a less than 0.01 significance level.

Figure 5.18. Comparison of Perceived Levels of Constituencies' Knowledge about Policy Issues, by Type of Constituency

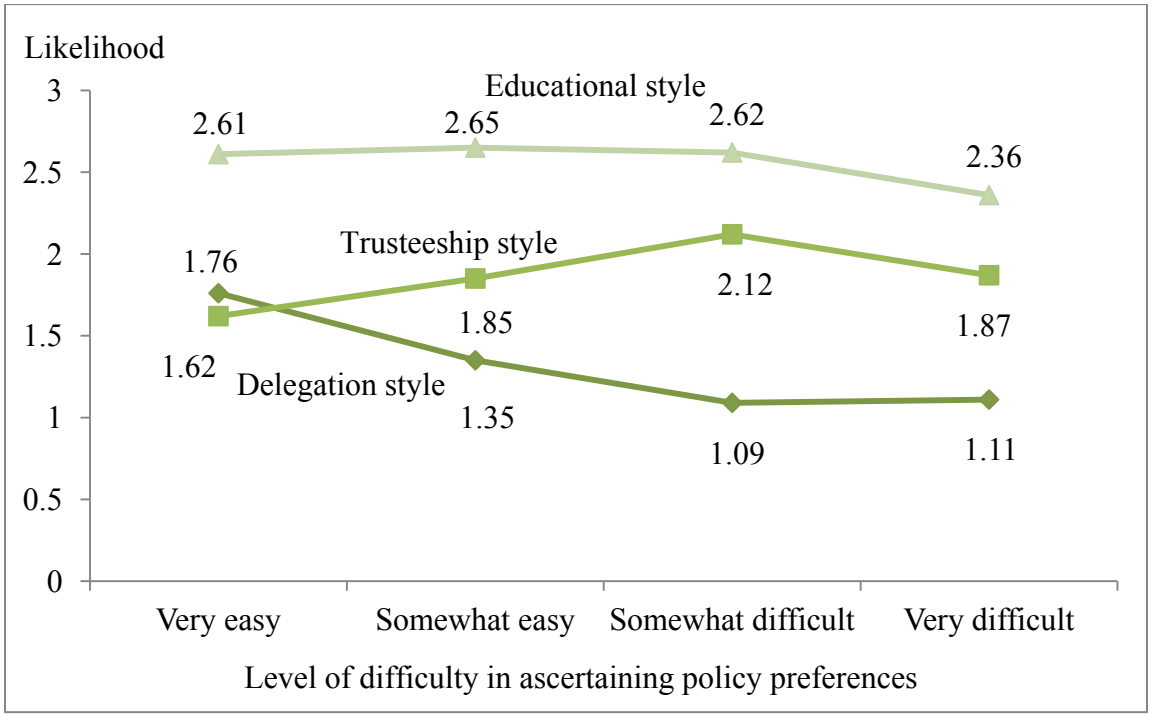


Note: Nonprofit officers whose organizations aim mainly to serve their constituents were asked a question about levels of knowledge of their constituents about relevant policy issues on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "not at all informed," 1 is "slightly informed," 2 is "somewhat informed," and 3 is "highly informed." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

According to the survey results, the perceived levels of knowledge that constituents have about policy issues somewhat vary by the type of constituency (see Figure 5.18). Organizations that claim to advocate for children or people in poverty perceive that their constituents are less informed about policy issues than organizations that aim to act on behalf of all other types of constituencies. The difference is statistically significant at a less than 0.01 significance level between organizations

advocating for children or people in poverty and organizations serving all other types of constituencies.

Figure 5.19. Comparison of the Likelihood of Nonprofits Adopting Representational Styles, by Level of Difficulty in Ascertaining the Policy Preferences of Focal Groups



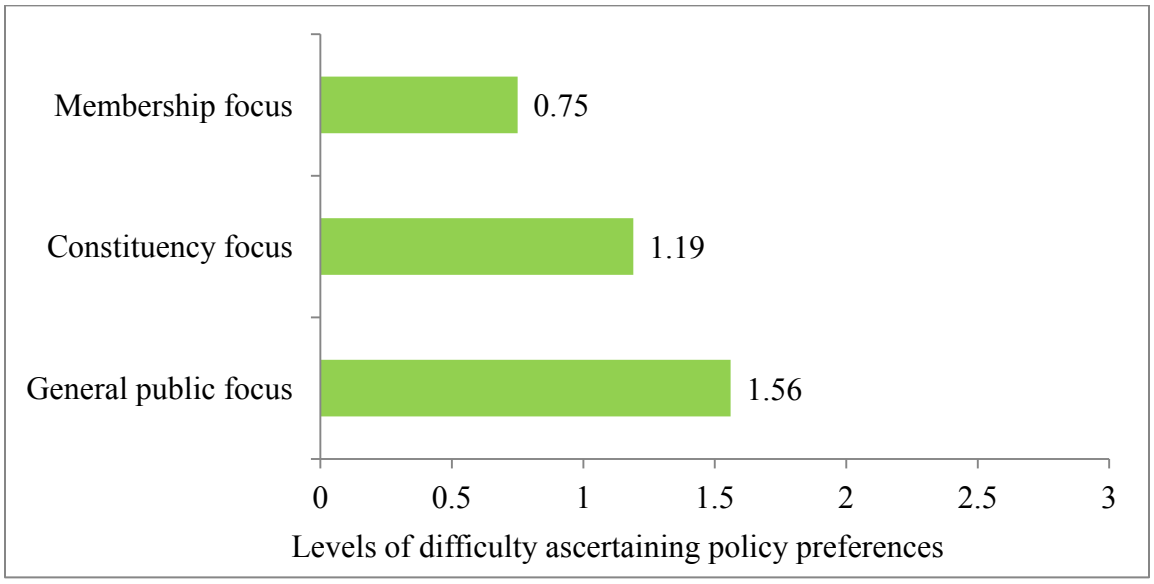
Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a series of questions about the likelihood of their organizations adopting the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very unlikely," 1 is "somewhat unlikely," 2 is "somewhat likely," and 3 is "very likely." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the questions.

Although the survey did not directly measure the degree of heterogeneity in the policy preferences of focal groups, the survey questionnaire asked nonprofit officers a question about the level of difficulty in ascertaining the policy preferences of those being served. The level of difficulty can be a proxy measurement for the degree of diversity in policy preferences. This is because, as focal groups have more diverse policy preferences, organizations may face more difficulty in identifying what their focal groups really want.

The survey results demonstrate that the degree to which organizations adopt the delegation and trusteeship styles seems to somewhat vary by the level of difficulty in ascertaining their focal groups' policy preferences (see Figure 5.19). The fewer difficulties organizations face in ascertaining the policy preferences of those being served, the more likely they are to follow preferences expressed by their focal groups. By contrast, the more difficulties organizations have in discerning the policy preferences of those being served, the more likely they are to pursue what they independently find as the interests of their focal groups.[29] On the other hand, there seems to be no correlation between the likelihood of organizations working toward educating those being served and the level of difficulty in ascertaining their focal groups' policy preferences.

[29] Among organizations that answered "very difficult" in ascertaining the policy preferences of those being served, the degree to which they adopt the trusteeship style seems to be anomalous. This may be because the number of observations that fall into this category is small (37 organizations). The other three categories each have more than 100 observations.

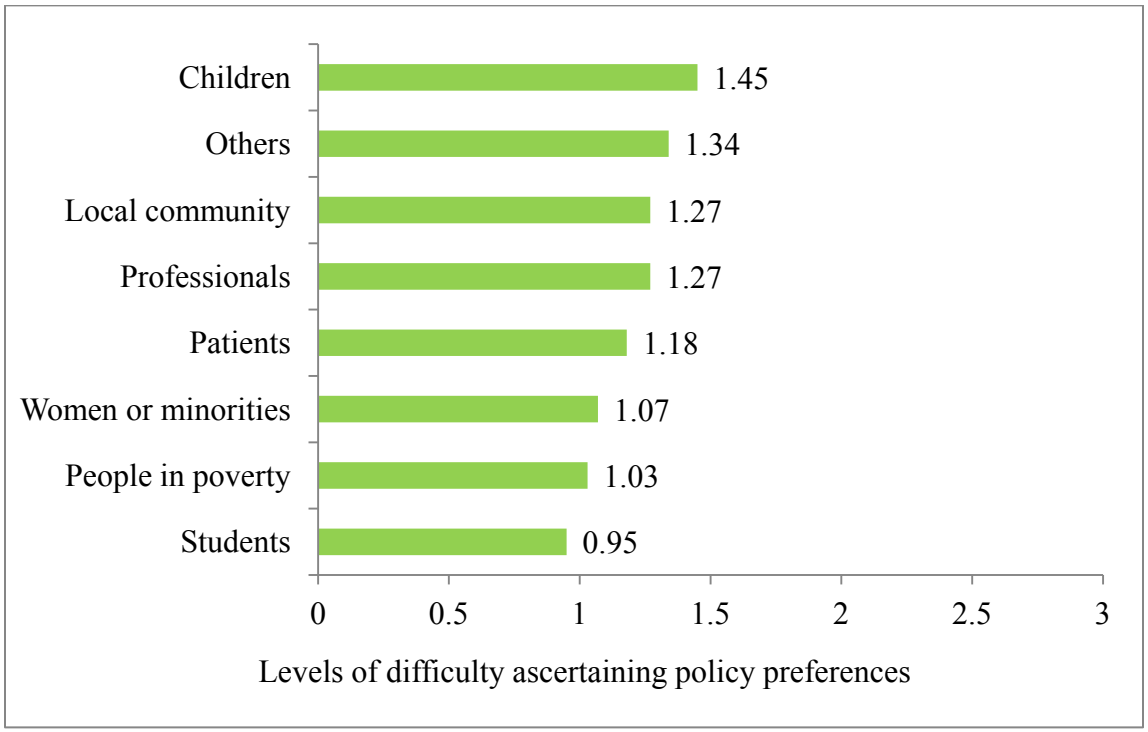
Figure 5.20. Comparison of Level of Difficulty in Ascertaining the Policy Preferences of Focal Groups, by Type of Representational Focus



Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a question about the level of difficulty in ascertaining the policy preferences of their focal groups on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very easy," 1 is "somewhat easy," 2 is "somewhat difficult," and 3 is "very difficult." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

The survey results show that the level of difficulty in ascertaining the policy preferences of focal groups varies depending on their representational focus (see Figure 5.20). Organizations that claim to advocate primarily for their members have the least difficulty in ascertaining the policy preferences of those being served. In contrast, organizations that claim mainly to represent the general public face the most difficulty. The differences among representational foci are statistically significant at a less than 0.01 significance level.

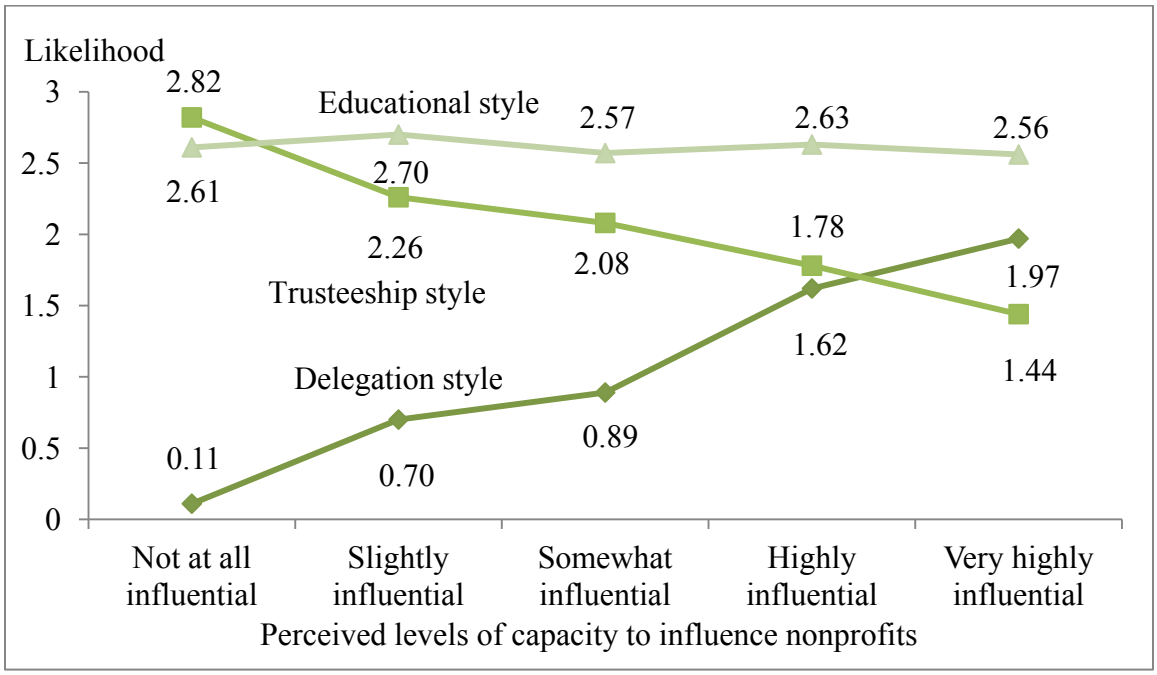
Figure 5.21. Comparison of Level of Difficulty in Ascertaining the Policy Preferences of Constituencies, by Type of Constituency



Note: Nonprofit officers whose organizations aim mainly to serve their constituents were asked about the level of difficulty in ascertaining their policy preferences on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very easy," 1 is "somewhat easy," 2 is "somewhat difficult," and 3 is "very difficult." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

According to the survey results, the level of difficulty in ascertaining the policy preferences of constituents somewhat varies depending on the type of constituency (see Figure 5.21). Organizations that claim to advocate for children have the most difficulty in ascertaining their constituents' policy preferences. In contrast, organizations that aim to serve students, people in poverty, women, or minorities believe that they can most easily ascertain their constituents' policy preferences. The difference is statistically significant at a less than 0.05 significance level among organizations that speak for students, people in poverty, women, or minorities, organizations that serve children, and organizations that act for all other types of constituencies.

Figure 5.22. Comparison of the Likelihood of Nonprofits Adopting Representational Styles, by Perceived Levels of Capacity that Focal Groups Have to Influence Nonprofits

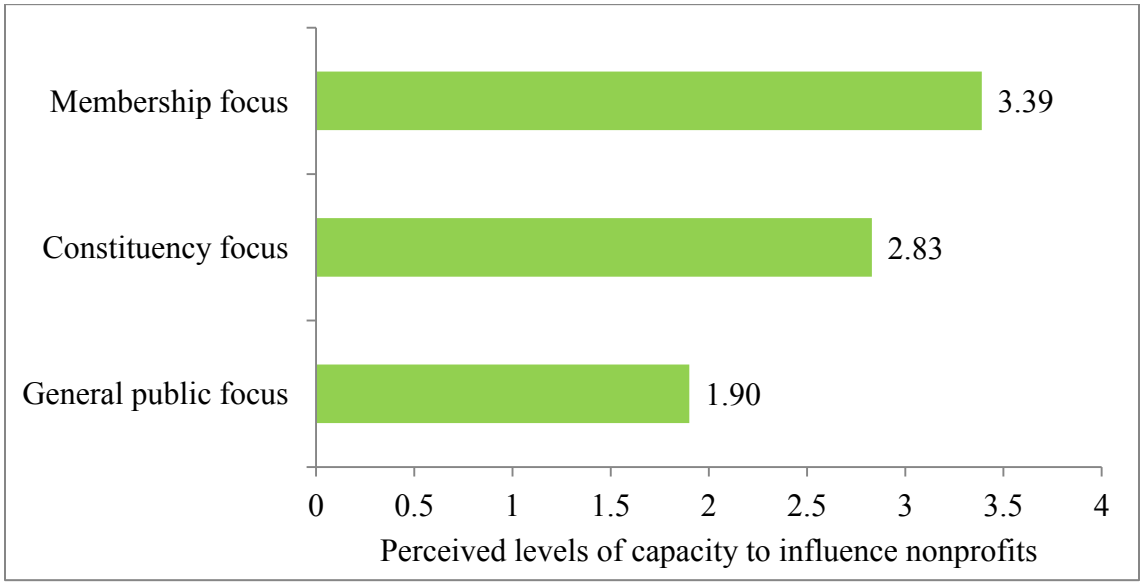


Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a series of questions about the likelihood of their organizations adopting the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very unlikely," 1 is "somewhat unlikely," 2 is "somewhat likely," and 3 is "very likely." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the questions.

The survey results reveal that the degree to which organizations adopt the delegation and trusteeship styles seems to vary by the perceived levels of capacity that their focal groups have to influence them (see Figure 5.22). When organizations believe that their focal groups have a larger capacity to influence them, they are more likely to follow opinions expressed by those being served. By contrast, as organizations perceive that their focal groups have a smaller capacity to influence them, they are more likely to act on their own initiative based on their own assessment of policy issues. However, there seems to be no correlation between the degree to which organizations attempt to

educate those being served and the perceived levels of capacity that their focal groups have to influence organizations.

Figure 5.23. Comparison of Perceived Levels of Capacity that Focal Groups Have to Influence Nonprofits, by Type of Representational Focus

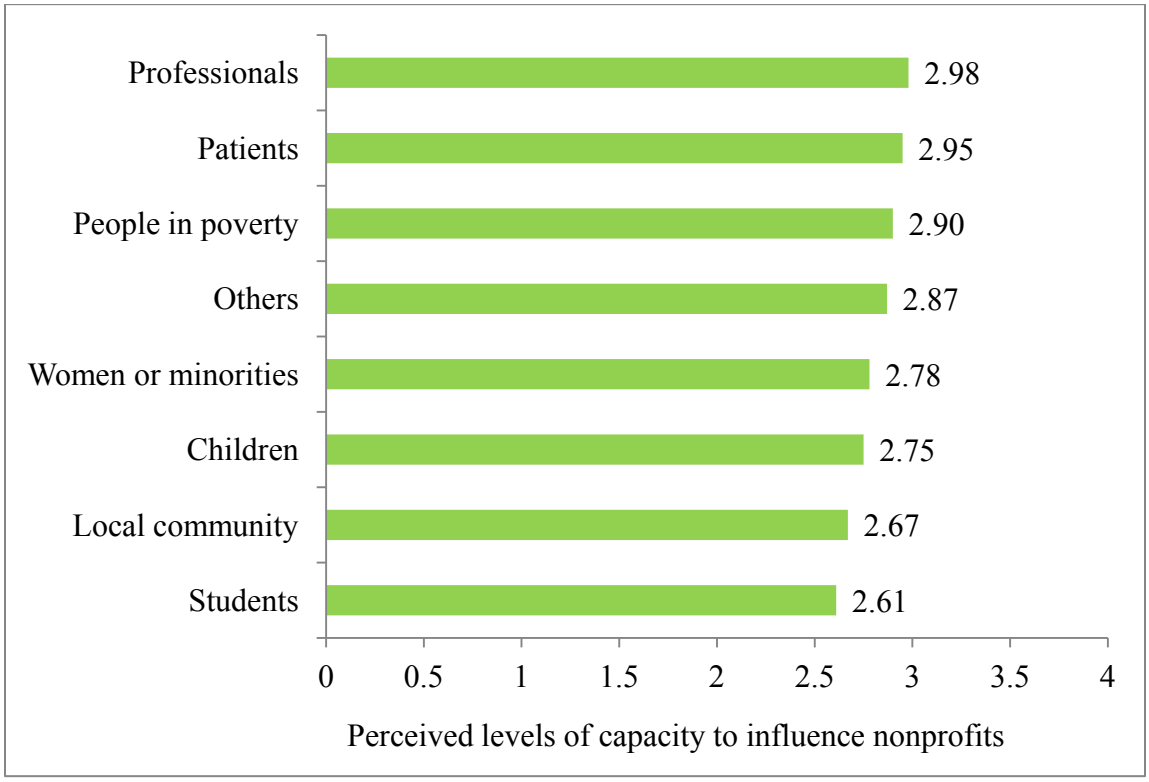


Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a question about the level of capacity that their focal groups have to influence their organizations on a scale of 0 to 4, where 0 is "not at all influential," 1 is "slightly influential," 2 is "somewhat influential," 3 is "highly influential," and 4 is "very highly influential." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

The survey results show that the perceived levels of capacity that focal groups have to influence organizations vary depending on their representational focus (see Figure 5.23). Organizations that claim mainly to represent their members believe that their members have a very high capacity to influence them. In contrast, organizations that aim to speak primarily for their constituents perceive that their constituents have a lower capacity to influence them. Organizations that intend chiefly to serve the general public believe that the general public, among the three types of representational foci, has

the least capacity to influence them. The differences among representational foci are statistically significant at a less than 0.01 significance level.

Figure 5.24. Comparison of Perceived Levels of Capacity that Constituencies have to Influence Nonprofits, by Type of Constituency



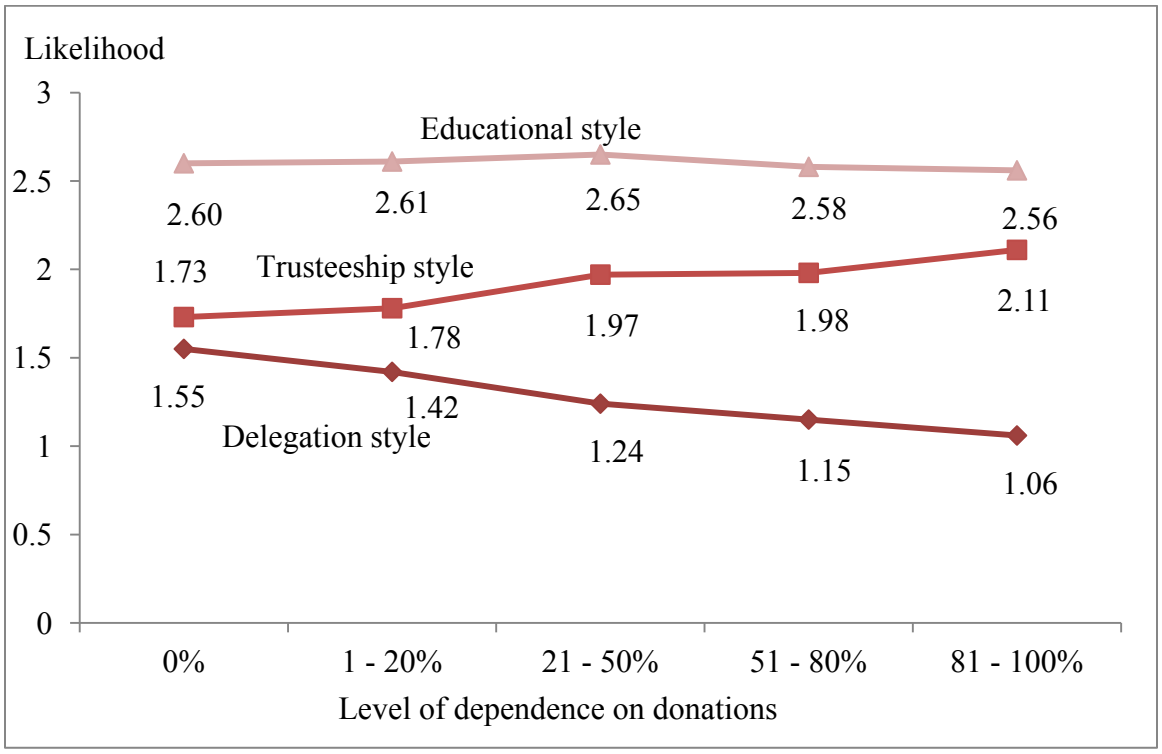
Note: Nonprofit officers whose organizations aim mainly to serve their constituents were asked a question about the level of capacity of their constituents to influence their organizations on a scale of 0 to 4, where 0 is "not at all influential," 1 is "slightly influential," 2 is "somewhat influential," 3 is "highly influential," and 4 is "very highly influential." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

According to the survey results, the perceived levels of capacity that constituents have to influence their organizations somewhat vary depending on the type of constituency (see Figure 5.24). Organizations that claim to advocate for children, local communities, or students perceive that their constituents have a lower capacity to

influence them than organizations that aim to speak for all other types of constituencies. The difference is statistically significant at a less than 0.05 significance level.

Relationships Between Representational Styles and Charity-Related Variables

Figure 5.25. Comparison of the Likelihood of Nonprofits Adopting Representational Styles, by Level of Dependence on Donations

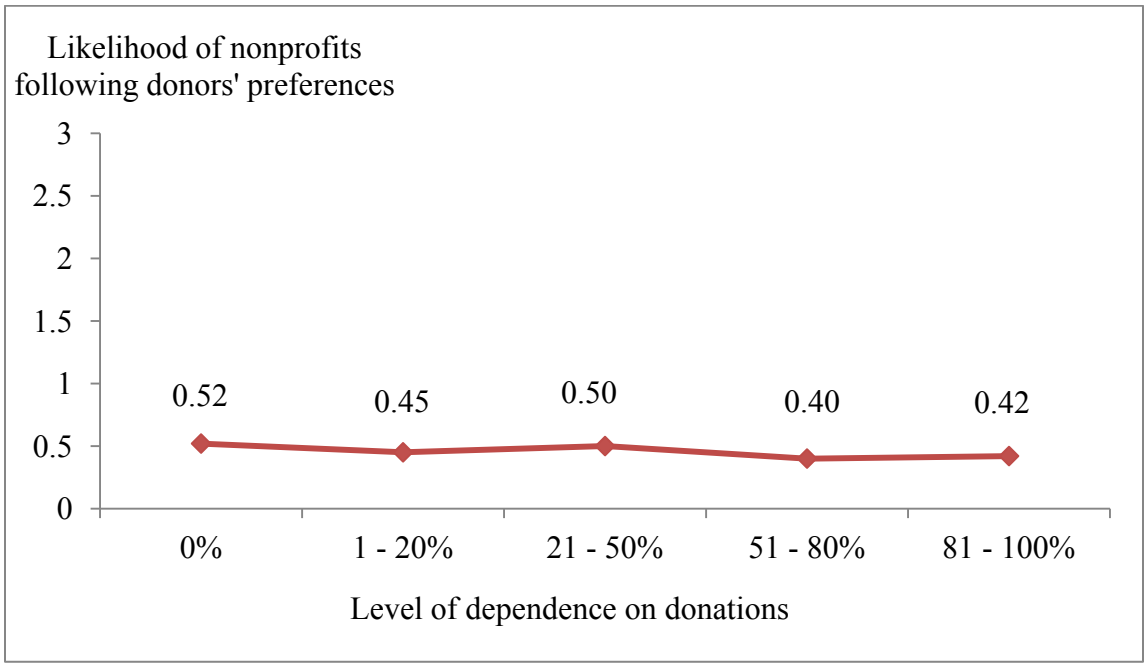


Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a series of questions about the likelihood of their organizations adopting the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very unlikely," 1 is "somewhat unlikely," 2 is "somewhat likely," and 3 is "very likely." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the questions.

According to the survey results, how much nonprofit organizations financially rely on donations seems to affect the degree to which they adopt the delegation and trusteeship styles (see Figure 5.25). When organizations depend more on charitable contributions, they are more likely to pursue what they independently consider to be in the interests of their focal groups. In turn, under such circumstances, they are less likely

to follow opinions expressed by those being served.[30] On the other hand, the level of financial dependence on giving does not seem to affect the degree to which organizations attempt to educate their focal groups (see Figure 5.25).

Figure 5.26. Comparison of the Likelihood of Nonprofits Following Donors' Policy Preferences, by Level of Dependence on Donations



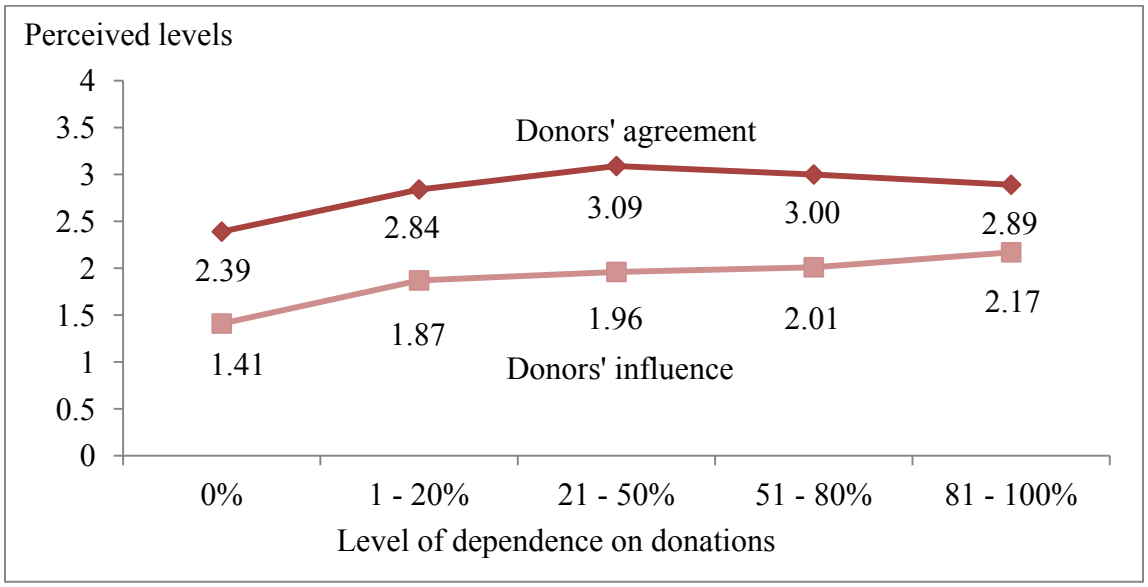
Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a question about the likelihood of their organizations following donors' policy preferences on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very unlikely," 1 is "somewhat unlikely," 2 is "somewhat likely," and 3 is "very likely." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

The survey results reveal that there seems to be no correlation between the level of dependence on donations and the degree to which organizations follow donors' policy preferences, when donors' policy preferences are different from organizations' policy

[30] In addition to the level of dependence on donations, this research has analyzed the relationship between the amounts in donations that organizations receive and the degrees to which they adopt the representational styles. The results are similar to Figure 5.25. When organizations receive more donations, they are more likely to adopt the trusteeship style and are less likely to utilize the delegation style.

positions (see Figure 5.26).[31] Under such circumstances, organizations are very unlikely or somewhat unlikely to follow donors' policy preferences, regardless of the level of their dependence on donations.

Figure 5.27. Comparison of Perceived Levels of Donors' Agreement with Nonprofits and Donors' Influence on Nonprofits, by Level of Dependence on Donations



Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a question about what proportion of donors agree with their policy positions on a scale of 0 to 4, where 0 is "none," 1 is "very few," 2 is "some," 3 is "many," and 4 is "almost all." Also, nonprofit officers were asked a question about the level of their donors' capacity to influence their organizations on a scale of 0 to 4, where 0 is "not at all influential," 1 is "slightly influential," 2 is "somewhat influential," 3 is "highly influential," and 4 is "very highly influential." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the questions.

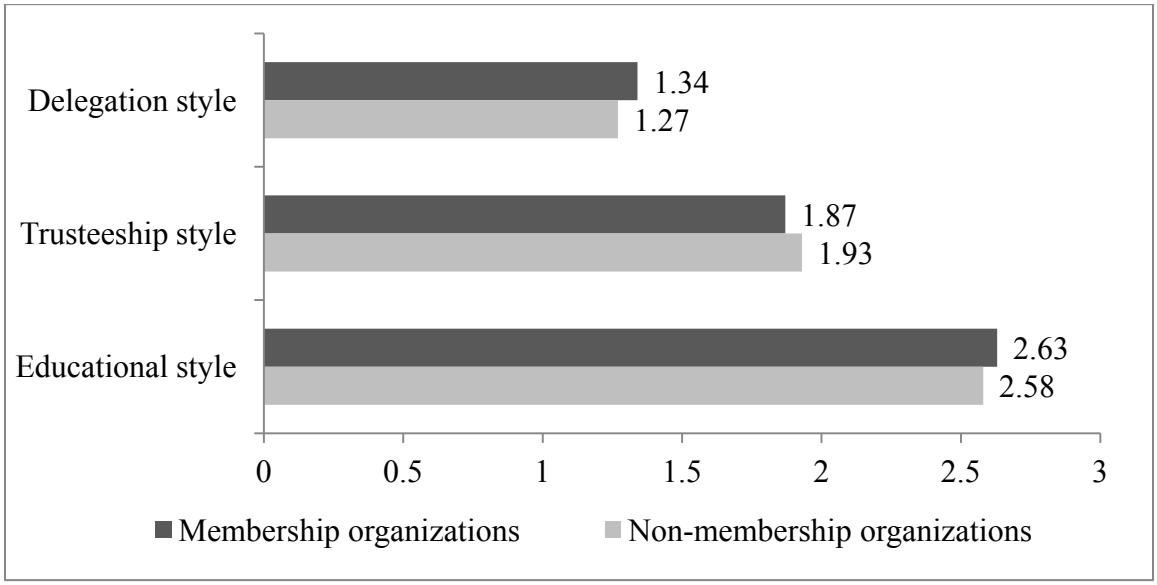
The survey asked nonprofit officers questions about what they believe about the proportion of donors who agree with their organizations' policy positions and how much capacity donors have to influence their organizations. The survey results show that how

[31] In addition to the level of dependence on donations, this research has analyzed the effect of the amounts in donations that organizations receive on the degree to which they follow their donors' policy preferences. The result is similar to Figure 5.26. There seems to be no correlation between how much organizations receive in donations and the likelihood of organizations catering to the opinions of their donors.

much organizations financially rely on donations seems to affect the perceived levels of donors' influence on organizations (see Figure 5.27). As organizations depend more on charitable contributions, these organizations perceive that their donors have higher levels of influence. On the other hand, the degree to which organizations believe donors agree with their policy positions seems to have a subtle inverted U-shaped relation to the level of dependence on donations (see Figure 5.27).

Relationships Between Representational Styles and Membership Status

Figure 5.28. Comparison of the Likelihood of Nonprofits Adopting Representational Styles, by Type of Membership Status

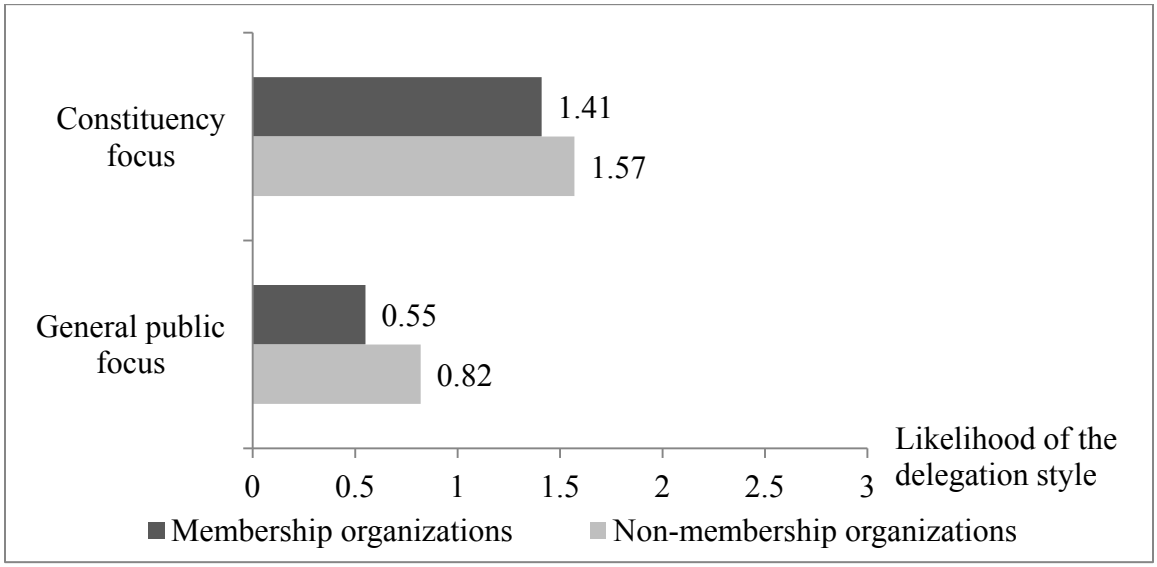


Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a series of questions about the likelihood of their organizations adopting the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very unlikely," 1 is "somewhat unlikely," 2 is "somewhat likely," and 3 is "very likely." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the questions.

The survey results demonstrate that there are no statistically significant differences between membership organizations and non-membership organizations in

terms of the degree to which they utilize the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles (see Figure 5.28).

Figure 5.29. Comparison of the Likelihood of Membership and Non-membership Organizations Adopting the Delegation Style, by Type of Representational Focus



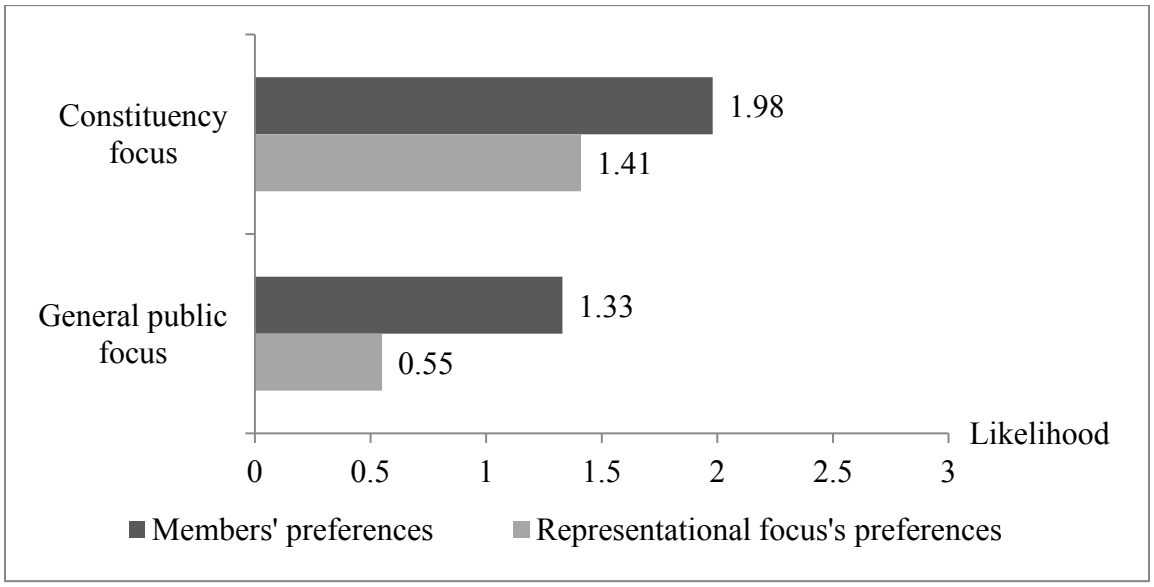
Note: Nonprofit officers were asked a question about the likelihood of their organizations adopting the delegation style on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very unlikely," 1 is "somewhat unlikely," 2 is "somewhat likely," and 3 is "very likely." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the question.

Although, in general, there are no measurable differences between membership organizations and non-membership organizations, differences do actually exist between membership organizations and non-membership organizations when looking at their focal groups, respectively. Among organizations that aim mainly to serve their constituents or the general public, membership organizations are less likely than non-membership organizations to follow the policy preferences of their focal groups (see Figure 5.29).[32]

[32] In this research, organizations with a membership focus, by definition, must have members. There is no non-membership organization that aims to advocate primarily for its members. Thus, these organizations are not included in this analysis.

Among organizations with a constituency focus, the difference between membership and non-membership organizations is statistically significant at a less than 0.1 significance level. In addition, among organizations with a general public focus, the difference between membership and non-membership organizations is statistically significant at a less than 0.01 significance level.

Figure 5.30. Comparison of the Likelihood of Membership Organizations Following Members' Preferences and Focal Groups' Preferences, by Type of Representational Focus



Note: Officers of membership organizations were asked questions about the likelihood of their organizations following policy preferences of their members and policy preferences of their focal groups on a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 is "very unlikely," 1 is "somewhat unlikely," 2 is "somewhat likely," and 3 is "very likely." The data reflect the nonprofit officers' mean responses to the questions.

The survey asked officers of membership organizations questions about the degree to which they follow their members' policy preferences and their focal groups'

policy preferences (except membership focus).[33] The results demonstrate that membership organizations that aim to advocate mainly for their constituents or the general public are more likely to follow the policy preferences of their members than the policy preferences of their focal groups (see Figure 5.30). The differences within each representational focus (except membership focus) are statistically significant at a less than 0.01 significance level.

[33] For organizations with a membership focus, members are identical with focal groups. Thus, the likelihood of these organizations following their members' policy preferences is equal to the likelihood of following the policy preferences of those being served. As a consequence, these organizations are not included in this analysis.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS

To examine in more detail representational roles that nonprofit organizations play in policy advocacy, this chapter describes the results of testing research hypotheses, using survey results and regression analyses.

Relationships Between Representational Styles and Foci

Overall, the ordered probit regression analyses reinforce the survey results and support the research hypotheses. The regression analyses reveal that even when other relevant factors are controlled for, the degree to which organizations adopt the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles varies depending on the types of their focal groups (see Table 6.1).[34] Organizations that aim mainly to represent their members are most likely to convey their members' voices directly to policy makers (see Figure 5.9 and Table 6.1). In turn, they are least likely to pursue what they independently identify as their members' interests. In contrast, organizations that claim to speak primarily for the general public are most likely to act on their own initiative based on their own assessment of policy issues and are least likely to cater to the views of the general public (see Figure 5.9 and Table 6.1). Also, they are most likely to work toward educating their focal groups (see Figure 5.11 and Table 6.1). Finally, organizations that intend to advocate chiefly for their constituents are somewhat more likely to adopt the trusteeship style than

[34] For the regression analyses, organizations that aim to speak primarily for their constituents are the baseline. The degree to which these organizations adopt the three representational styles is usually on an average level among the three types of organizations. Thus, they are appropriate as the baseline for comparison.

the delegation style (see Figure 5.9). However, some of these organizations utilize different representational styles, depending on the type of their primary constituency (see Figure 5.10 and Table 6.3).

As to why organizations utilize different representational styles based on the types of their focal groups, the research hypotheses state that members, constituents, and the general public possess distinctive characteristics that could affect representational styles. These characteristics include different levels of interest in policy issues, different levels of knowledge regarding policy issues, various degrees of diverse policy preferences, and different levels of capacity to influence organizations (see Figure 5.14, Figure 5.17, Figure 5.20, and Figure 5.23). Due to these distinctive characteristics, organizations that seek to advocate for members, constituents, and the general public could adopt different representational styles.

The survey results and ordered probit regression analyses demonstrate that the four characteristic variables mentioned above affect the degree to which organizations practice the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles (see Figure 5.13, Figure 5.16, Figure 5.19, Figure 5.22, and Table 6.2). When organizations perceive that their focal groups are more informed about policy issues, they are more likely to follow the opinions expressed by those being served. Similarly, as organizations believe that their focal groups have a higher capacity of exerting influence, they are more likely to follow the policy preferences of those being represented. In turn, they are less likely to pursue what they independently identify as the interests of their focal groups. Additionally, when organizations perceive their focal groups as having a greater interest in policy issues, they are more likely to work toward educating those being served. In contrast, as

organizations face more difficulty in ascertaining the policy preferences of their focal groups, they are less likely to attempt to educate those being represented. These results suggest that these four characteristics at least partially explain how membership focus, constituency focus, and general public focus affect the degree to which organizations practice the three representational styles.

However, even after the four characteristic variables are held constant, membership focus and general public focus have smaller but still measurable effects on the degree to which organizations practice the delegation and trusteeship styles (see Table 6.2).[35] In addition, general public focus has a larger effect on the degree to which organizations adopt the educational style (see Table 6.2).[36] These results suggest that the four characteristics of members, constituents, and the general public can partially, but not fully, explain how organizations advocate for their focal groups. Membership focus, constituency focus, and general public focus involve still other characteristics that affect the degree to which organizations adopt the three representational styles.

[35] The smaller coefficient estimates suggest that when the four characteristic variables are not controlled for, the regression analyses estimate the upward biased coefficients of membership focus on the delegation style and of general public focus on the trusteeship style (see Table 3.3). Additionally, the regression analyses estimate the downward biased coefficients of membership focus on the trusteeship style and of general public focus on the delegation style (see Table 3.3).

[36] The general public has low levels of interest in policy issues, and organizations with a general public focus face high levels of difficulty in discerning policy preferences. Also, these characteristics have negative effects on the degree to which organizations adopt the educational style. Therefore, the larger coefficient of the general public on the educational style suggests that when these characteristic variables are not controlled for, the regression analysis estimates the downward biased coefficient of general public focus on the educational style (see Table 3.3).

Table 6.1. **Relationships Between Representational Foci and Styles (Ordered Probit Regression Analysis)**

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables		
	Delegation style	Trusteeship style	Educational style
Representational Focus Variables			
General public focus	-1.0603 *** (0.0985)	0.7291 *** (0.0964)	0.4736 *** (0.1068)
Membership focus	0.9626 *** (0.1469)	-0.5775 *** (0.1420)	-0.1268 (0.1537)
Charity-related Variables			
Dependence on donations	-0.0031 ** (0.0012)	0.0038 *** (0.0013)	-0.0012 (0.0015)
Number of volunteers (logarithm)	-0.0108 (0.0184)	-0.0192 (0.0183)	0.0016 (0.0206)
Membership-related Variables			
Membership organization	-0.2323 (0.1424)	0.1611 (0.1420)	-0.0081 (0.1562)
Number of individual members (logarithm)	-0.0108 (0.0176)	0.0225 (0.0176)	0.0254 (0.0196)
Number of organizational members (logarithm)	-0.0199 (0.0267)	-0.0370 (0.0266)	-0.0008 (0.0295)
Policy Issue Variable			
Proportion of representational foci affected by policy issues	-0.0222 (0.0540)	0.1279 ** (0.0536)	0.2136 *** (0.0583)
Organizational Attribute Variables			
Number of staff members (logarithm)	-0.0135 (0.0276)	0.0513 * (0.0275)	0.0079 (0.0305)
501(c)(3) public charities	-0.1123 (0.1747)	-0.3006 ** (0.1754)	-0.1880 (0.1935)
Activity levels (national level)	-0.0079 (0.0985)	0.0265 (0.0887)	0.1607 (0.0987)

Activity levels (international level)	-0.1379 (0.1157)	0.0984 (0.1155)	-0.0449 (0.1278)
Location (Washington D.C.)	0.1671 (0.1713)	0.0524 (0.1711)	-0.1626 (0.1855)
Subsector field (higher education)	-0.5913 * (0.3440)	0.7642 ** (0.3605)	0.2130 (0.3915)
Subsector field (health)	0.1173 (0.2233)	-0.1851 (0.2267)	-0.3025 (0.2497)
Number of observations	686	686	686
Log likelihood	-937.2023	-945.0031	-704.6197
Log likelihood chi-square (degrees of freedom)	242.78 *** (15)	139.50 *** (15)	39.23 *** (15)
Pseudo R^2	0.1147	0.0687	0.0271

Note: Statistical significance is shown at the following levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, and *** $p < 0.01$.
Parentheses show standard error.
Baseline category is nonprofits that aim mainly to represent their constituents.

Table 6.2. **The Effects of the Characteristics of Representational Foci on Representational Roles (Ordered Probit Regression Analysis)**

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables		
	Delegation style	Trusteeship style	Educational style
Representational Focus Variables			
General public focus	-0.7594 *** (0.1063)	0.4927 *** (0.1048)	0.5472 *** (0.1176)
Membership focus	0.6840 *** (0.1529)	-0.3765 ** (0.1478)	-0.1966 (0.1588)
Characteristic Variables of Representational Foci			
Perceived levels of interest in policy issues	-0.0849 (0.0587)	-0.0201 (0.0583)	0.1217 ** (0.0608)
Perceived levels of knowledge about policy issues	0.1142 * (0.0676)	-0.0158 (0.0670)	
Levels of difficulty in ascertaining policy preferences	0.0111 (0.0609)	0.0105 (0.0601)	-0.1084 * (0.0651)
Perceived levels of capacity to influence organization	0.5033 *** (0.0526)	-0.3077 *** (0.0506)	-0.0244 (0.0547)
Charity-related Variables			
Dependence on donations	-0.0031 ** (0.0014)	0.0038 *** (0.0013)	-0.0013 (0.0015)
Number of volunteers (logarithm)	-0.0290 (0.0188)	-0.0100 (0.0185)	0.0014 (0.0207)
Membership-related Variables			
Membership organization	-0.1999 (0.1444)	0.1257 (0.1428)	-0.0143 (0.1566)
Number of individual members (logarithm)	0.0031 (0.0182)	0.0136 (0.0178)	0.0290 (0.0197)
Number of organizational members (logarithm)	-0.0183 (0.0271)	-0.0378 (0.0268)	-0.0052 (0.0296)

Policy Issue Variable			
Proportion of representational foci affected by policy issues	-0.1161 * (0.0615)	0.2165 *** (0.0605)	0.1523 ** (0.0649)
Organizational Attribute Variables			
Number of staff members (logarithm)	0.00123 (0.0282)	0.0363 (0.0279)	0.0110 (0.0306)
501(c)(3) public charities	-0.1961 (0.1806)	-0.3745 ** (0.1793)	-0.1384 (0.1942)
Activity levels (national level)	-0.0400 (0.0912)	0.0574 (0.0897)	0.1347 (0.0994)
Activity levels (international level)	-0.1231 (0.1182)	0.0886 (0.1170)	-0.0672 (0.1287)
Location (Washington D.C.)	0.2536 (0.1734)	0.0037 (0.1717)	-0.1505 (0.1862)
Subsector field (higher education)	-0.6666 * (0.3447)	0.8106 ** (0.3609)	0.2000 (0.3921)
Subsector field (health)	0.2304 (0.2273)	-0.2672 (0.2288)	-0.2850 (0.2499)
Number of observations	686	686	686
Log likelihood	-883.6719	-923.3854	-700.4911
Log likelihood chi-square (degrees of freedom)	349.84 *** (19)	182.74 *** (19)	47.49 *** (18)
Pseudo R^2	0.1652	0.0900	0.0328

Note: Statistical significance is shown at the following levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, and *** $p < 0.01$.
Parentheses show standard error.
Baseline category is nonprofits that aim mainly to represent their constituents.

The Results of Testing Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1a is supported by the survey results (see Figure 5.9): Organizations that aim mainly to serve their members are more likely to adopt the delegation style than the trusteeship style.

Hypothesis 1b is supported by the regression analysis (see Table 6.1): These organizations, among the three types of organizations, are most likely to practice the delegation style.

Hypothesis 2a is supported by the survey results (see Figure 5.9): Organizations that aim to advocate chiefly for the general public are more likely to practice the trusteeship style than the delegation style.

Hypothesis 2b is supported by the regression analysis (see Table 6.1): These organizations, among the three types of organizations, are most likely to utilize the trusteeship style.

Hypothesis 3a is rejected by the survey results (see Figure 5.9): Organizations that intend to speak primarily for their constituents are somewhat more likely to adopt the trusteeship style than the delegation style.

Hypothesis 4a is rejected by the regression analyses (see Table 6.2): Even after the four characteristic variables of members, constituents, and the general public are held constant, these focal groups have smaller but still measurable effects on the degrees to which organizations practice the delegation and trusteeship styles.

Relationships Between Representational Styles and Types of Constituencies

The ordered probit regression analyses reinforce the survey results and support the research hypotheses to a degree. The type of constituency that organizations aim primarily to serve affects the degree to which they adopt the delegation and trusteeship styles (see Table 6.3).[37] However, the type of constituency has no measurable effect on the likelihood of organizations practicing the educational style (see Table 6.3). Among nine types of constituencies, organizations that aim mainly to serve professionals are most likely to follow their constituents' opinions and are less likely to make independent judgments about its representation. In contrast, organizations that aim to advocate chiefly for children are most likely to pursue what they consider to be in the interests of children and are less likely to cater to the opinions of children. On the other hand, organizations that intend to act primarily for people in poverty are less likely to adopt the trusteeship style than organizations that claim mainly to represent women or minorities.

The survey results show that each constituency is perceived to have somewhat distinctive characteristics, such as different levels of interest in policy issues, different levels of knowledge regarding policy issues, various degrees of diverse policy preferences, and different levels of capacity to influence organizations (see Figure 5.15, Figure 5.18, Figure 5.21, and Figure 5.24). The research hypotheses state that, due to these distinctive characteristics, organizations with a constituency focus utilize different representational styles, depending on the type of their primary constituency.

[37] For the regression analyses, organizations that aim to speak primarily for women or minorities are the baseline. The degree to which these organizations adopt the three representational styles is frequently on an average level among the nine types of organizations with a constituency focus. Thus, they are appropriate as the baseline for comparison.

The ordered probit regression analyses reveal that when other relevant factors are controlled for, some characteristics of constituencies affect the degree to which organizations adopt the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles (see Table 6.4). When organizations perceive that their constituents have a larger capacity to influence them, they are more likely to follow policy preferences expressed by their constituents. In turn, under such circumstances, they are less likely to pursue what they independently identify as the interests of their constituents. Also, as organizations believe that their constituents have more interest in policy issues, they are more likely to work toward educating their constituents.

In addition, after the four characteristic variables of constituents are held constant, the coefficient estimate of children on the delegation style and the coefficient estimate of professionals on the trusteeship style become statistically insignificant at a 0.1 significance level. Also, almost all other types of constituencies have smaller effects on the degree to which organizations employ the delegation and trusteeship styles. These results suggest that these four characteristics at least partially explain how constituencies affect the degree to which organizations adopt the delegation and trusteeship styles.

However, even after the four characteristic variables of constituents are held constant, professionals as a type of constituency have a smaller but still measurable effect on the degree to which their organizations practice the delegation style.[38] In addition, children and people in poverty as types of constituencies have a smaller but still

[38] The smaller coefficient estimates suggest that when the four characteristic variables are not controlled for, the larger capacity of professionals to influence their organizations biases their coefficient estimate on the delegation style upward (see Figure 5.24 and Table 3.2).

discernible effect on the likelihood of their organizations adopting the trusteeship style.[39] These results imply that the four characteristics of constituencies can partially, but not fully, explain how organizations speak for their constituents. Constituencies still have other characteristics that affect the degree to which organizations adopt the delegation and trusteeship styles.

[39] The smaller capacity of children to influence their organizations makes their coefficient estimate on the trusteeship style upwardly biased, and the larger capacity of people in poverty to influence their organizations makes their coefficient estimate on the trusteeship style downwardly biased, when the variable is not controlled for (see Figure 5.24 and Table 3.2).

Table 6.3. Relationships Between Representational Styles and the Type of Constituency (Ordered Probit Regression Analysis)

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables		
	Delegation style	Trusteeship style	Educational style
Type of Constituency			
Professionals	0.4954 ** (0.2020)	-0.4266 ** (0.2011)	0.0367 (0.2194)
Children	-0.4169 * (0.2133)	0.6265 *** (0.2151)	0.0812 (0.2326)
Students	-0.2272 (0.2155)	0.1328 (0.2162)	0.3453 (0.2386)
Patients	0.1507 (0.1877)	-0.1108 (0.1868)	0.0695 (0.2022)
Local community	0.0259 (0.1977)	-0.3104 (0.1979)	0.0866 (0.2172)
People in poverty	-0.0439 (0.2085)	-0.5547 *** (0.2094)	-0.1087 (0.2270)
Other constituents	0.4081 (0.2807)	-0.1880 (0.2792)	-0.2660 (0.2938)
Charity-related Variables			
Dependence on donations	-0.0037 * (0.0019)	0.0048 ** (0.0019)	0.0002 (0.0021)
Number of volunteers (logarithm)	0.0268 (0.0270)	-0.0602 ** (0.0272)	-0.0225 (0.0298)
Membership-related Variables			
Membership organization	-0.4655 ** (0.2138)	0.3208 (0.2135)	-0.1309 (0.2276)
Number of individual members (logarithm)	-0.0073 (0.0281)	-0.0258 (0.0281)	0.0304 (0.0310)
Number of organizational members (logarithm)	-0.0213 (0.0413)	-0.0110 (0.0413)	0.0167 (0.0448)
Policy Issue Variable			
Proportion of constituents affected by policy issues	0.0491 (0.0787)	0.0571 (0.0792)	0.3063 *** (0.0838)

Organizational Attribute Variables			
Number of staff members (logarithm)	-0.1188 *** (0.0391)	0.1173 *** (0.0393)	0.0404 (0.0421)
501(c)(3) public charities	-0.0101 (0.2756)	-0.5404 * (0.2783)	-0.4709 (0.3146)
Activity levels (national level)	0.0513 (0.1279)	-0.0986 (0.1285)	0.0091 (0.1400)
Activity levels (international level)	-0.1527 (0.1607)	0.3120 * (0.1621))	0.1457 (0.1776)
Location (Washington, D.C.)	0.6065 ** (0.2584)	-0.1638 (0.2583)	-0.4391 (0.2689)
Number of observations	338	338	338
Log likelihood	-485.3610	-473.9260	-380.2705
Log likelihood chi-square (degrees of freedom)	39.33 *** (19)	48.94 *** (19)	24.63 (19)
Pseudo R^2	0.0389	0.0491	0.0314

Note: Statistical significance is shown at the following levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, and *** $p < 0.01$.
Parentheses show standard error.
Baseline category is nonprofits that aim to primarily represent women or minorities.

Table 6.4. The Effects of the Characteristics of Constituencies on Representational Roles (Ordered Probit Regression Analysis)

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables		
	Delegation style	Trusteeship style	Educational style
Type of Constituency			
Professionals	0.4059 * (0.2075)	-0.3370 (0.2046)	0.0324 (0.2233)
Children	-0.3501 (0.2205)	0.5729 *** (0.2197)	0.1669 (0.2368)
Students	-0.2273 (0.2195)	0.1079 (0.2183)	0.3355 (0.2402)
Patients	0.0377 (0.1911)	-0.0356 (0.1886)	0.0766 (0.2037)
Local community	0.0475 (0.1003)	-0.3239 (0.1988)	0.0798 (0.2181)
People in poverty	-0.0903 (0.2148)	-0.5360 ** (0.2139)	-0.1056 (0.2280)
Other constituents	0.3700 (0.2847))	-0.1474 (0.2816)	-0.2449 (0.2957)
Characteristics of Constituency			
Perceived levels of interest in policy issues	-0.0196 (0.0836)	-0.0693 (0.0839)	0.1697 ** (0.0853)
Perceived levels of knowledge about policy issues	0.0904 (0.0955)	-0.0022 (0.0951)	
Levels of difficulty in ascertaining policy preferences	-0.0544 (0.0866)	0.0351 (0.0859)	-0.0605 (0.0897)
Perceived levels of capacity to influence organization	0.4489 *** (0.0750)	-0.2873 *** (0.0737)	-0.0820 (0.0780)
Charity-related Variables			
Dependence on donations	-0.0044 ** (0.0020)	0.0054 *** (0.0020)	-0.0001 (0.0021)
Number of volunteers (logarithm)	0.0154 (0.0275)	-0.0542 ** (0.0275)	-0.0204 (0.0299)

Membership-related Variables			
Membership organization	-0.3715 * (0.2159)	0.2451 (0.2149)	-0.1194 (0.2284)
Number of individual members (logarithm)	-0.0138 (0.0285)	-0.0234 (0.0284)	0.0337 (0.0312)
Number of organizational members (logarithm)	-0.0304 (0.0419)	-0.0066 (0.0417)	0.0086 (0.0450)
Policy Issue Variable			
Proportion of constituents affected by policy issues	-0.0703 (0.0915	0.1739 * (0.0924)	0.2213 ** (0.0964)
Organizational Attribute Variables			
Number of staff members (logarithm)	-0.0943 ** (0.0401)	0.1004 ** (0.0401)	0.0433 (0.0426)
501(c)(3) public charities	0.0032 (0.2802)	-0.5816 ** (0.2822)	-0.3950 (0.3155)
Activity levels (national level)	0.0595 (0.1296)	-0.0954 (0.1294)	-0.0217 (0.1410)
Activity levels (international level)	-0.1890 (0.1634)	0.3485 ** (0.1642))	0.1120 (0.1790)
Location (Washington, D.C.)	0.7608 *** (0.2622)	-0.2363 (0.2611)	-0.4405 (0.2697)
Number of observations	338	338	338
Log likelihood	-462.9566	-464.0323	-377.4971
Log likelihood chi-square (degrees of freedom)	84.14 *** (23)	68.73 *** (23)	30.18 (22)
Pseudo R^2	0.0833	0.0689	0.0384

Note: Statistical significance is shown at the following levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, and *** $p < 0.01$.
Parentheses show standard error.
Baseline category is nonprofits that aim to primarily represent women or minorities.

The Results of Testing Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis 3b is partially supported by the regression analyses (see Table 6.3): Among organizations that aim to primarily serve their constituents, some organizations utilize different representational styles, depending on the type of their primary constituency.

Hypothesis 4b is rejected by the regression analyses (see Table 6.4): Even after the four characteristic variables of constituencies are held constant, some types of constituencies have smaller but still discernible effects on the degree to which these organizations practice the delegation and trusteeship styles.

Relationships Between Charity-related Variables and Representational Styles

Organizational maintenance-related concerns predict that in order to secure financial and human resources, organizations will give priority to their donors and volunteers rather than those whom they claim to serve (Pfeffer & Salanicik, 2003; Wilson, 1995). However, the survey results reveal that the level of dependence on donations does not have a measurable effect on the likelihood of organizations following donors' policy preferences (see Figure 5.26). In addition, this research has analyzed the relationship between the amounts in donations that organizations receive and the likelihood of organizations following their donors' preferences. The result is that there is no discernible correlation between these two variables. These results suggest that organizational maintenance-related concerns about donations do not affect nonprofits' representational styles. In other words, nonprofit organizations do not speak for their donors' preferences at the expense of their focal groups.

As opposed to what organizational maintenance-related concerns predict, the survey results and ordered probit regression analyses demonstrate that as organizations depend more on donations, they are more likely to act on their own initiative based on their own assessment of policy issues (Figure 5.25, Table 6.1, and Table 6.2). In addition, this research put the amounts in donations that organizations received as an independent variable into the statistical model, instead of the level of dependence on donations. Then, the ordered probit regression analyses were re-run. The result is similar to those found previously. As organizations receive more donations, they are more likely to adopt the trusteeship style.

The list of organizations that received 80% to 100% of their revenues from donations includes many organizations whose primary activity is fundraising and financial support for a single organization, such as school foundations. Because these organizations have a distinct attribute from other organizations in terms of their close ties with their parent organizations, their affiliation rather than donations may affect their representational styles. To examine whether donations or their affiliation affect their representational styles, ordered probit regression analyses were re-run, controlling for this organizational characteristic variable.[40] The result is similar to those found previously. Organizations that depend more on donations are more likely to adopt the trusteeship style and are less likely to utilize the delegation style. Hence, this research reveals that donations can increase the likelihood that nonprofit organizations make independent judgments in political representation.

[40] The NTEE Core Codes classify an organization based on its institutional purposes. The NTEE Common Code "11" shows that organizations under this category primarily focus their activities on financial support for a single organization (NCCS).

The Results of Testing Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis 5a is rejected by the regression analyses (see Table 6.1 and Table 6.2): Organizations that rely more on donations are less likely to practice the delegation style but are more likely to adopt the trusteeship style. Also, the level of dependence on donations and the amounts in donations that organizations receive do not affect the degree to which they follow donors' policy preferences.

Hypothesis 5b is rejected by the regression analyses (see Table 6.1 and Table 6.2): The number of volunteers has no measurable effect on the degree to which organizations adopt the delegation style and the trusteeship style.

Relationships Between Membership-related Variables and Representational Styles

In general, membership-related variables, such as membership status, the number of individual members, and the number of organizational members, do not have discernible effects on the degree to which organizations adopt the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles (see Figure 5.28, Table 6.1, and Table 6.2). However, among organizations that aim mainly to serve their constituents, membership organizations are less likely than non-membership organizations to follow their constituents' opinions (see Figure 5. 29, Table 6.3, and Table 6.4). In addition, among organizations that aim to advocate primarily for the general public, membership organizations are less likely than non-membership organizations to follow the general public's opinions (see Figure 5.29). Also, membership organizations that claim chiefly to serve broader groups than their members actually put a higher emphasis on their members than their focal groups (see Figure 5.30). These results suggest that for reasons of organizational maintenance-

related concerns, the membership status of organizations with a constituency or general public focus affects their representational styles.

However, organizational maintenance-related concerns about membership do not have a measurable effect on the delegation style when the three types of organizations are considered together. The reason might be that these concerns can have a positive effect on the delegation style for organizations with a membership focus. Organizational maintenance-related concerns about membership can lead these organizations to follow their members' policy preferences because members are a group of people who pay dues to these organizations and are also the group of people whom they aim mainly to serve. As a result, when regression analyses estimate the effects of organizational maintenance-related concerns about membership on the delegation style for the three types of organizations together, the effects are offset and become statistically insignificant. However, when regression analyses estimate the effect only on organizations with a constituency focus, the effect remains statistically significant.

Hence, these results suggest that organizational maintenance-related concerns about membership affect the likelihood of organizations adopting the delegation style, depending on the types of their focal groups. These concerns can increase the degree to which organizations with a membership focus follow their members' mandates. In contrast, these concerns can decrease the degree to which organizations that aim mainly to serve broader groups than their members follow the policy preferences of their constituents or the general public.

The Results of Testing Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis 6a is supported by the survey results and the regression analyses (see Figure 5.29, Figure 5.30, Table 6.3, and Table 6.4): Among organizations with a constituency or general public focus, membership organizations are less likely than non-membership organizations to practice the delegation style. Also, membership organizations that aim to advocate mainly for broader groups than their members are more likely to follow their members' policy preferences than the policy preferences of their constituents or the general public.

Hypothesis 6b is rejected by the regression analyses (see Table 6.3 and Table 6.4): The number of members has no measurable effect on the degree to which organizations with a constituency focus adopt the delegation style.

The Policy Issue Variable and Representational Styles

The policy issue variable affects the degree to which nonprofit organizations adopt the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles (see Table 6.1 and Table 6.2). As an organization perceives that a policy issue impacts a larger proportion of its focal group, the organization is more likely to pursue what it independently identifies as the interests of its focal group. In turn, the organization is less likely to follow its focal group's opinions. When a policy issue affects a larger proportion of its focal group, the organization tries to speak for the larger number. However, it faces more difficulty in listening to and following the views of so many people. Thus, the organization needs to make independent judgments about its representation.

In addition, as Downs' perspective predicts, an organization is more likely to work toward educating its focal group when a policy issue has a wide impact on a larger proportion of those being served (see Table 6.1 and Table 6.2). By actively working on a policy issue that has a wide impact, the organization attempts to maximize support from its focal group (Downs, 1957).

Organizational Attribute Variables and Representational Styles

Some organizational attribute variables, such as the number of staff members, the type of organization, subsector fields, activity levels, and locations, have measurable effects on the degree to which organizations adopt the delegation and trusteeship styles. The more staff members an organization employs, the more likely the organization is to pursue what it independently identifies as the interests of its focal group (see Table 6.1). In addition, under such circumstances, an organization that aims mainly to serve its constituents is less likely to follow their opinions (see Table 6.3 and Table 6.4). The size of staff can be a proxy measure of the level of bureaucratization. As organizations become highly bureaucratized, they are less likely to be concerned with those whom they claim to serve (Walker, 1991). As a consequence, a larger staff size leads organizations to act on their own initiative based on their own assessment of policy issues.

Among organizations with a constituency focus, organizations that work at the international level are more likely than organizations that work at the local or state level to pursue what they consider to be the interests of their constituents (see Table 6.3 and Table 6.4). Organizations that work at the international level tend to be remote from their constituents because their constituents live in foreign countries. Thus, these

organizations need to utilize the trusteeship style more frequently than organizations that work near their constituents.

Social welfare organizations are more likely than public charities to make independent judgments about their advocacy, although the hypothesis predicts that they are less likely than public charities to adopt the trusteeship style (see Table 6.1 and Table 6.2). In addition, among subsector fields, higher education institutions are least likely to follow opinions expressed by their focal groups and are most likely to pursue what they consider to be the interests of their focal groups (see Table 6.1 and Table 6.2). Also, among organizations that intend to advocate primarily for their constituents, organizations located in Washington, D.C. are more likely than organizations in other areas to follow their constituents' opinions (see Table 6.3 and Table 6.4). This implies that organizations in Washington, D.C. may put higher emphasis on the role of conveying their constituents' voices to policy makers than organizations in other areas.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

With the use of the large-scale data sets and the concept of the representational role (Eulau et al., 1959; Eulau, 1962a, 1962b), this study contributes to advancing an understanding of how nonprofit organizations speak for and act on behalf of those whom they aim primarily to serve. In addition, this research deepens the understanding of how members and donors affect nonprofit organizations' behaviors in political representation, using the concept of organizational maintenance-related concerns (Pfeffer & Salanicik, 2003; Wilson, 1995). Also, this research implies how nonprofit organizations contribute to democratic representation. This chapter discusses implications from research findings, the limitations of this research, and directions for future research.

Representational Roles of Nonprofit Organizations

This research demonstrates that nonprofit organizations that aim mainly to serve their members are most likely to convey their members' voices directly to policy makers. In addition, the survey results reveal that these organizations frequently survey their members to discern their members' concerns about policy issues (see Figure 5.6). Also, these nonprofits' leaders perceive that almost all of their members agree with their policy positions (see Figure 5.7). Thus, these organizations may accurately reflect their members' voices in policy advocacy. For these reasons, it can be said that they fulfill a role as their members' delegates in political representation.

In contrast, nonprofit organizations that aim to advocate primarily for the general public do not simply follow the voices of the general public, but they act on their own initiative based on their own assessment of policy issues. The survey results show that these nonprofits' leaders perceive that the general public possesses only some interest in and little knowledge about policy issues (see Figure 5.14 and Figure 5.17). Thus, these organizations cannot rely on preferences that the general public expresses as the sole indicator of its real interests. As a result, they need to independently identify real interests that the general public would have if it were fully informed.

If these organizations carefully anticipate what the general public really needs and exercise their independent judgments, their representation can be legitimate (Young, 2000). However, the survey results of this research demonstrate that these organizations rarely conduct surveys of the general public's concerns about policy issues (see Figure 5.6). In addition, these nonprofits' leaders perceive that less than the majority of the general public is in agreement with their policy positions (see Figure 5.7). Hence, there are serious concerns about how accurately these organizations reflect the real interests of the general public in policy advocacy. As a result, they may not fulfill a role as either the delegates or the trustees of the general public in political representation.

Finally, nonprofit organizations that aim chiefly to serve their constituents are somewhat more likely to pursue what they consider to be the interests of their constituents than to follow their constituents' opinions. The survey results reveal that these organizations sometimes investigate their constituents' concerns about policy issues (see Figure 5.6). Additionally, these nonprofits' leaders perceive that a large majority of their constituents are congruent with their policy positions (see Figure 5.7). These results

imply that when these organizations adopt the trusteeship style, they may exercise their independent judgments partly based on what they learn from surveys of their constituents' concerns. Therefore, they may reflect their constituents' voices to some extent. For these reasons, it can be said that these organizations fulfill a role as their constituents' trustees in political representation. However, the degree to which they accurately reflect the real interests of their constituents may vary depending on the type of constituency that they aim primarily to serve.

Beyond the viewpoint of how organizations respond to their focal groups, the survey results demonstrate that the three types of organizations tend to work toward educating people about policy issues. In addition, the three types of organizations are more likely to attempt to educate people than to respond to them (see Figure 5.9 and Figure 5.11). Educational efforts are important advocacy work for nonprofit organizations, since political interests are not self-generating but are usually constructed by political actors (Strolovitch, 2007). The survey results suggest that nonprofit organizations do not simply respond to their focal groups, but also they attempt to cultivate and construct political interests by educating them. In particular, among the three types of organizations, organizations that aim to advocate mainly for the general public are most likely to work toward educating their focal groups about policy issues (see Figure 5. 11, Table 6.1, and Table 6.2). This result implies that these organizations may play a role in cultivating and constructing the political interests of the general public in political representation, rather than in conveying the general public's policy preferences to policy makers.

In summary, by applying the concept of the representational role (Eulau et al., 1959; Eulau, 1962a, 1962b) to nonprofit organizations, this research helps advance an understanding of their behaviors in the political process. It reveals that nonprofit organizations play different roles in political representation, depending on the types of their focal groups. Organizations with a membership focus tend to embrace the delegate role. In contrast, organizations with a constituency focus tend to use the trustee role. Finally, organizations with a general public focus tend to play the educator role.

Representational Roles of Nonprofit Organizations and Democratic Representation

This research implies that the manner in which nonprofit organizations contribute to or undermine democratic representation varies depending on their representational roles. First, organizations that aim mainly to serve their members tend to fulfill a delegate role in the political process by conveying their members' voices directly to policy makers. These organizations protect or advance the interests of their members that are not sufficiently represented within an electoral system (Berry & Wilcox, 2009). From the viewpoint of pluralism in American politics, these organizations can contribute to making democratic representation more inclusive by presenting diverse and competing interests in the public policy process (Dahl, 1967; Truman, 1951; Wilson, 1995).

However, because members are usually a group of people who are well-educated and relatively affluent (Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995), these organizations may be ill-equipped to speak for people and interests that are marginalized in formal political venues. Consistent with Schattschneider's (1975) observations of biases in American

politics, these organizations may accelerate "a strong upper-class accent" in political representation (p.35) and exacerbate inequalities in the policymaking process.

Second, organizations that aim primarily to serve their constituents tend to fulfill a trustee role in the political process by conveying what they consider to be in the interests of their constituents to policy makers. These organizations tend to speak for those who are marginalized in formal political venues, such as the needy, women, racial minorities, children, and the disabled (see Figure 5.2). As long as these organizations carefully anticipate what their constituents really need and exercise independent judgments about what they advocate, they can contribute to democratic representation by advancing the interests of marginalized groups.

However, these organizations may have difficulty in determining the true interests of their constituents. Because these organizations rarely have a full list of their constituents, and because it is costly to survey their constituents many times, they are less likely to have reliable sources of information about what their constituents really want. In addition, leaders of these organizations may well have their own ideas about what is good for their constituents, but these ideas may be different from what their constituents really want, so these organizations are likely to represent their own goals as much as they are to speak for the goals held by their constituents. Also, Strolovitch (2006, 2007) demonstrated that these organizations are more likely to represent only a portion of their constituents, especially advantaged members of their constituents. Thus, as previous research frequently challenged the capacities of nonprofit organizations to actually represent the interests of citizens (Bolduc, 1980; Cnaan, 1991; Guo & Musso, 2006;

Swindell, 2000), the extent to which these organizations have a capacity to speak for their marginalized constituents may be open to question.

Third, organizations that aim chiefly to serve the general public do not generally reflect its voices in policy advocacy. Because these organizations rarely survey the general public's policy concerns, they may not contribute to democratic representation by conveying the general public's interests to policy makers. However, these organizations can contribute by educating the general public about policy issues and by cultivating and constructing its political interests. Since the general public usually knows little about policy issues and does not understand much about how these issues are related to its own interests, informing the general public about policy issues can be important. The educational efforts of these organizations may help the general public deliberate the issues and participate in public affairs in a more knowledgeable way.

However, these organizations tend to present only their side of an issue to the general public and offer facts and interpretations most favorable to their goals, while they do not spend much time in addressing the arguments of the other side (Berry & Wilcox, 2009). Sometimes, these organizations can spend a good deal of time attacking the other, misrepresent agendas, or manipulate the general public in an inflammatory way (Berry & Wilcox, 2009). Thus, if these organizations misuse their educational efforts, they may harm democratic representation by misleading the general public, by inhibiting deliberation and reflection, or by creating polarized controversies (Dahl, 1994; Fiorina, 1999, Olson, 1982; Rausch, 1994; Huntington, 1982).

Donations and Representational Roles of Nonprofit Organizations

Nonprofit organizations need to seriously take into account donors as well as their focal groups in order to secure financial resources (Pfeffer & Salanicik, 2003; Wilson, 1995). Previous research suggested that organizations may define their policy goals to fit within the interests of those who provide resources to them (Berry, 1999; Michels, 2010; Pfeffer & Salanicik, 2003; Wilson, 1995). Thus, it would seem that the extent to which organizations depend on donations affects the degree to which they utilize the various representational styles.

However, this research shows that the level of dependence on donations does not affect the degree to which organizations follow their donors' preferences. Similarly, the amounts in charitable contributions that organizations receive do not affect the likelihood of organizations catering to the opinions of their donors. Thus, organizational maintenance-related concerns about charitable giving do not affect the degree to which organizations adopt the representational styles. This suggests that nonprofit organizations do not speak for their donors' preferences at the expense of those whom they aim mainly to serve.

Moreover, the more nonprofit organizations depend on charitable contributions or receive donations, the more likely they are to act on their own initiative based on their own assessment of policy issues. In turn, they are less likely to follow opinions expressed by their focal groups. These results do not change, even after controlling for the variable of organizations whose primary activity is fundraising and financial support for a single organization.

Hence, this research implies that donations can increase the likelihood that organizations will make independent judgments about how they advocate for their focal groups. This may be partly because organizations believe that their donors do not expect them to advocate for donors' interests but expect instead that they pursue their mission due to the altruistic characteristic of donations. Also, organizations may be selective about donors, and they may receive donations from only donors who will ultimately support the organizations' policy goals. However, this research does not sufficiently illuminate why donations strengthen the independence of organizations in political representation. Further research is needed to address this issue.

Membership Status and Representational Roles of Nonprofit Organizations

Membership organizations advocate for their focal groups differently from non-membership organizations. Because members provide organizations with financial and human resources, and members are often part of the groups for which organizations advocate, membership organizations need to take account of their opinions for organizational maintenance and survival (Pfeffer & Salanicik, 2003; Wilson, 1995).

Consistent with organizational maintenance-related concerns about membership, this research reveals that among organizations that aim mainly to serve their constituents or the general public, membership organizations are less likely than non-membership organizations to follow their focal groups' opinions. In addition, membership organizations with a constituency or general public focus actually put a higher emphasis on their members than on their focal groups. These results suggest that organizational maintenance-related concerns about membership may decrease the degree to which these

organizations follow their focal groups' opinions. In other words, organizational maintenance-related concerns about membership lead these organizations to represent their members' preferences at the expense of those whom they aim primarily to serve. In contrast, among organizations that aim to speak mainly for their members, organizational maintenance-related concerns about membership induce these organizations to further represent their focal groups.

Organizational maintenance-related concerns about membership may contribute to democratic representation as long as membership organizations aim to advocate mainly for their members. However, when membership organizations aim to speak primarily for broader groups than their members, these concerns may hurt democratic representation by over-representing their members and under-representing their constituents or the general public. In particular, when membership organizations aim to serve disadvantaged groups, these concerns may divert these organizations' representation from disadvantaged groups to their members who are already well-educated and affluent (Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). In addition, because the survey results show that the vast majority of membership organizations aim to speak mainly for broader groups than their members (see Figure 5.3), how much these membership organizations contribute to democratic representation may be open to question.

Research Limitations

The main limitation of this research framework is that it examines only the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles that nonprofit organizations can adopt in

policy advocacy. Whether political actors adopt the delegation style or the trusteeship style is a traditional controversy in political representation. Thus, it is worth exploring the degree to which organizations employ these representational styles. However, political actors could utilize many other representational styles, such as the promissory style, the anticipatory style, and the gyroscopic style (Mansbridge, 2003). Those representational styles are beyond the scope of this research. Hence, this research does not fully reveal the role of nonprofit organizations in political representation. Rather, this research illuminates how organizations advocate for their focal groups only from the viewpoints of the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles.

The second limitation of this research framework is the way in which the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles are framed in the survey questionnaire. Because "representational style" is political representation terminology, nonprofit officers usually do not know it and cannot directly answer questions about it. It is necessary to ask nonprofit officers questions about their representational styles in easily understandable language. However, there are many ways to frame the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles. It is possible that different wording of questions would produce different answers, even if the content of the questions is essentially identical (Dillman, Smyth, & Christian, 2009). The pilot survey was conducted to examine whether or not the survey questions accurately reflected the concept of the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles in a way that nonprofit officers could easily understand and answer them. After revising the questions based on the pilot survey results, the final survey was carried out. Because almost all respondents answered those questions consistently and the survey results are consistent with the research

hypotheses, the survey questions seem to frame the representational styles in understandable language accurately. Nevertheless, it could be possible that alternative question framing about the representational styles could yield different results.

The third limitation of this research framework is that this research focuses on certain circumstances under which nonprofit organizations utilize the delegation, trusteeship, and educational styles. It is difficult to distinguish whether an organization prioritizes its own independent assessment of policy issues or its focal group's opinions, when a majority of its focal group is in agreement with the organization's policy positions. To clearly ascertain whether an organization follows its focal group or makes independent judgments about its representation, the survey questionnaire asked each nonprofit officer how his or her organization behaves under the circumstance in which a majority of its focal group disagrees with the organization's policy positions. This circumstance is not necessarily common since organizations generally perceive that many of the people they represent are congruent with them in terms of policy positions (see Figure 5.7). Thus, this research examines how organizations advocate for those being served under limited circumstances.

In addition to the limitations of the research framework, the survey methodology used in this research has some limitations. The main one is that the survey methodology is confined to responses from the mixed-mode surveys based on the perceptions of officers in nonprofit organizations. Because nonprofit officers' perceptions directly affect their organizational behaviors, their perceptions are useful for examining the representational behaviors of their organizations. However, it is possible that nonprofit members, constituents, and the general public view organizational activities differently

from nonprofit officers. In addition, nonprofit officers may not sufficiently understand their focal groups. In particular, because nonprofit officers whose organizations aim to advocate primarily for the general public rarely survey its policy concerns, their perceptions of the general public may be open to question. Thus, it is necessary to further explore how characteristics of members, constituents, and the general public affect the behaviors of nonprofit organizations in political representation, since nonprofit officers' perceptions of their focal groups may not necessarily be accurate.

Another limitation is that nonprofit officers may answer the questions in a biased manner. Because they have strategic interests, there is reason to be concerned about the validity of the survey responses. However, when the survey responses were checked, the respondents' answers appear to have little inconsistency regarding key variables.[41] Thus, the methodology used in this survey did not appear to cause nonprofit officers to give seriously biased answers to the survey questions. Nevertheless, it is possible that nonprofit officers answered some questions in a socially desirable manner.

Future Research

This research demonstrates that nonprofit organizations are more likely to work toward educating their focal groups than to simply respond to them. However, this research focuses primarily on the delegation and trusteeship styles, rather than on the educational style. Thus, it does not sufficiently explore how organizations educate those whom they aim chiefly to serve. In particular, how organizations cultivate and construct solidaristic feelings and common interests among their focal groups is a critical issue.

[41] For instance, few respondents answered "very likely" in questions about both the delegation style and the trusteeship style. Because these representational styles are mutually exclusive, it is inconsistent to answer "very likely" to both questions.

Interest group literature and political representation literature provide several research frameworks that are applicable to an analysis of the educational role that organizations play (Dawson, 1994; Mansbridge, 1983; Strolovitch, 2007; Urbinati, 2000; Williams, 1998). This research agenda would supplement the current research; additional research would reveal the representational and educational roles of nonprofit organizations.

Second, this research focuses on how nonprofit organizations represent their focal groups. The representational roles of organizations are input into the public policy process. However, it is unclear how this input is related to policy outcomes. It is possible that, depending on the types of focal groups and representational styles of organizations, policy makers may react to organizations' policy advocacy and formulate public policies differently. To fully examine nonprofits' contributions to democracy, it is worth analyzing how the representational roles of nonprofit organizations influence the policymaking process and policy outcomes. Thus, outcomes of representation could be a future research agenda.

Third, this research suggests that donations can increase the likelihood that nonprofit organizations make independent judgments on how they advocate for their focal groups. However, it is still unclear why donations can strengthen the independence of organizations in political representation. From the philanthropic studies viewpoint, it is worth continuing to explore what roles donations play in the political representation of nonprofit organizations.

Finally, combining qualitative and quantitative methods could be useful to overcome the limitations of the research methodology used in this study. The mixed method research incorporates in-depth interviews, focus groups, participant observation,

archival research, survey interviews, or hybrid methods (Axinn & Pearce, 2006). The combination of qualitative and quantitative methods may be able to measure not only the perceptions of nonprofit officers but also their organizational behaviors. In particular, both in-depth interviews with and participant observation of focal groups may help reveal the causality between the characteristics of focal groups and the behaviors of nonprofit organizations in political representation.

APPENDIX

The Center on Philanthropy AT INDIANA UNIVERSITY
INDIANA UNIVERSITY–PURDUE UNIVERSITY INDIANAPOLIS

Survey on Nonprofits and Democracy

Part I

Please provide basic background on your organization. (If your organization is a chapter of a larger organization, please provide information about the chapter, not the larger organization.)

1. Do you consider your organization to be a membership organization?

☐ Yes → *Please go to question 1.a*

☐ No → *Please skip to question 2*

1.a. What is required to be a member of your organization? Please check all that apply.

☐ Pay membership dues ☐ Participate in its activities ☐ Other (please specify)_____

1.b. Which additional services or special benefits does your organization provide your members that are not available to non-members? Please check all that apply.

☐ Publications or newsletters
☐ Research results
☐ Participation in public affairs
☐ Training
☐ Conferences
☐ Social events, activities, or gatherings
☐ Excursions, trips, or tours
☐ Discounts on goods or services
☐ No additional services or special benefits
☐ Other (please specify) _____

1.c. How many of the following types of members, on average, has your organization had over the past three years?

_____Individuals
_____Other nonprofits
_____Corporations or business trade associations
_____Government agencies
_____Other (please specify) _____

2. At which level(s) does your organization pursue its goals? Please check all that apply.

☐ Local level ☐ State level ☐ National level ☐ International level

3. How many staff members and volunteers, on average, has your organization had over the past three years?

_____Full-time staff
_____Part-time staff
_____Board members
_____Volunteers
_____Other (please specify) _____

4. On average, what has been **the approximate proportion** of your organization's annual income from each of the following sources over the past three years?

_____% Membership dues
_____% Gifts or contributions other than dues
_____% Foundation grants
_____% Grants or contracts from government agencies at any level
_____% Income from services or goods provided to clients or others
_____% Other (please specify)_____

(These should add up to 100%.)

Part II

Please provide information about any communication your organization has with policy makers. The term "policy makers" refers to officials at any level (local, state, federal) who work at any governmental institution (legislative, executive, or judicial institutions; administrative agencies; boards and commissions, etc.).

5. In some cases, contact with those in government comes about at the initiative of the policy makers themselves. How often, on average, would you say that people in government have approached your organization to discuss matters of mutual interest over the past three years? Please choose the category which comes closest.

☐ Never
☐ One or two times a year
☐ Three to five times a year
☐ Six to eleven times a year
☐ Twelve times a year or more

6. Some nonprofits recognize a need to educate those in government so that policy makers will better understand the problems facing the people the nonprofits serve. How often, on average, has your organization undertaken an effort to educate government officials at any level over the past three years? Please choose the category which comes closest.

☐ Never
☐ One or two times a year
☐ Three to five times a year
☐ Six to eleven times a year
☐ Twelve times a year or more

7. Some nonprofits recognize a need to mobilize support from their members, constituents, or the general public so that policy makers will seriously consider their concerns. How often, on average, has your organization undertaken an effort to mobilize public support over the past three years? Please choose the category which comes closest.

☐ Never
☐ One or two times a year
☐ Three to five times a year
☐ Six to eleven times a year
☐ Twelve times a year or more

Part III

Please provide information about how your organization views its role in the public policy process. The term "constituents" refers to a group of people that a nonprofit serves, including both members and non-members.

8. Which one of the following statements best describes your organization?

☐ Your organization aims at serving mainly **your constituents**.

→ *Please go to question 8.a*

☐ Your organization aims at serving mainly **the general public**.

→ *Please skip to question 9*

☐ Your organization aims at serving mainly **your members**.

→ *Please skip to question 9*

8.a. Please indicate who your primary constituents are – the main people that your organization serves.

_____

8.b. How easy or difficult is it for your organization to identify each constituent?

☐ Very easy ☐ Somewhat easy ☐ Somewhat difficult ☐ Very difficult ☐ Don't know

8.c. Does your organization have a list of your constituents?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, what proportion of your constituents does the list cover?

☐ Very few ☐ Some ☐ Many ☐ Almost all ☐ Don't know

8.d. Whose input is considered most important when your organization determines **who your primary constituents are**? Please check all that apply.

☐ General public ☐ Foundations ☐ Other staff

☐ Members ☐ Policy makers ☐ Bylaws or mission statements

☐ Donors ☐ Board members ☐ Other (please specify)_____

☐ Volunteers ☐ Executive directors (CEO, COO, CFO, etc.)

9. To what extent other organizations are working on the same policy issues as your organization?

☐ Never ☐ Rarely ☐ Sometimes ☐ Often ☐ Very often ☐ Don't know

10. Which one of the following statements best describes your organization?

☐ In general, the policy issues your organization aims to influence affect mainly **your constituents**.

☐ In general, the policy issues your organization aims to influence affect mainly **the general public**.

☐ In general, the policy issues your organization aims to influence affect mainly **your members**.

11. Whose input is considered most important when your organization determines **which policy issues** it addresses? Please check all that apply.

☐ General public	☐ Volunteers	☐ Executive directors (CEO, COO, CFO, etc.)
☐ Members	☐ Foundations	☐ Other staff
☐ Constituents	☐ Policy makers	☐ Bylaws or mission statements
☐ Donors	☐ Board members	☐ Other (please specify)_____

Part IV

Please provide information about your organization's relationships with the general public, members, constituents, donors, foundations, and policy makers.

12. How frequently, on average, has your organization **surveyed the following groups to discern their concerns about policy issues** over the past three years?

	Frequency of surveys on policy concerns					
	Never	**Rarely**	**Sometimes**	**Often**	**Very often**	**Not applicable**
General public	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Constituents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Donors	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Policy makers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

13. In general, how much are the following groups would you estimate **interested in policy issues** your organization addresses?

	Levels of interest in policy issues						
	Not at all	**Slightly**	**Somewhat**	**Highly**	**Very Highly**	**Don't know**	**Not applicable**
General public	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Constituents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Donors	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Policy makers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

14. In general, what proportion of the following groups would you estimate **is directly affected by policy issues** your organization addresses?

Proportion of the groups affected by policy issues							
	None	Very few	Some	Many	Almost all	Don't know	Not applicable
General public	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Constituents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Donors	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Policy makers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

15. In general, what proportion of the following groups would you estimate **agrees with your organization's positions on policy issues** your organization addresses?

Proportion of agreement with your policy positions							
	None	Very few	Some	Many	Almost all	Don't know	Not applicable
General public	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Constituents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Donors	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Policy makers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

16. In general, how well are the following groups **informed about policy issues** your organization addresses?

Level of knowledge about policy issues						
	Not at all informed	Slightly informed	Somewhat informed	Highly informed	Don't know	Not applicable
General public	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Constituents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Donors	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Policy makers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

17. How easy or difficult is it for your organization to **discern policy preferences** of the following groups?

Level of difficulty in discerning policy preferences						
	Very easy	**Somewhat easy**	**Somewhat difficult**	**Very difficult**	**Don't know**	**Not applicable**
General public	□	□	□	□	□	□
Members	□	□	□	□	□	□
Constituents	□	□	□	□	□	□
Donors	□	□	□	□	□	□
Policy makers	□	□	□	□	□	□

18. In general, what degree of **trust** do the following groups have in your organization?

Degree of trust in your organization							
	No trust	**Slight trust**	**Some trust**	**High trust**	**Very high trust**	**Don't know**	**Not applicable**
General public	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
Members	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
Constituents	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
Donors	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
Policy makers	□	□	□	□	□	□	□

19. In the event that **your important donors** disagree with your policy positions, how likely is it that your organization would take the following actions?

Relationships with donors or foundations				
	Very unlikely	**Somewhat unlikely**	**Somewhat likely**	**Very likely**
You would support the positions of your important donors rather than your positions.	□	□	□	□
You would act on your own initiative based on your own assessment of the issues.	□	□	□	□
You would educate your important donors so that they will be more receptive to your positions.	□	□	□	□

20. In the event that **a majority of the general public** disagrees with your policy positions, how likely is it that your organization would take the following actions?

Relationships with the general public				
	Very unlikely	**Somewhat unlikely**	**Somewhat likely**	**Very likely**
You would support the positions of a majority of the general public rather than your positions.	☐	☐	☐	☐
You would act on your own initiative based on your own assessment of the issues.	☐	☐	☐	☐
You would educate the general public so that it will be more receptive to your positions.	☐	☐	☐	☐

21. In the event that **a majority of your constituents** disagree with your policy positions, how likely is it that your organization would take the following actions?

Relationships with constituents				
	Very unlikely	**Somewhat unlikely**	**Somewhat likely**	**Very likely**
You would support the positions of a majority of your constituents rather than your positions.	☐	☐	☐	☐
You would act on your own initiative based on your own assessment of the issues.	☐	☐	☐	☐
You would educate your constituents so that they will be more receptive to your positions.	☐	☐	☐	☐

22. (*If your organization has membership, please answer this question. Otherwise, please skip this question and go to question 23 on page 8.*) In the event that **a majority of your members** disagree with your policy positions, how likely is it that your organization would take the following actions?

Relationships with members				
	Very unlikely	**Somewhat unlikely**	**Somewhat likely**	**Very likely**
You would support the positions of a majority of your members rather than your positions.	☐	☐	☐	☐
You would act on your own initiative based on your own assessment of the issues.	☐	☐	☐	☐
You would educate your members so that they will be more receptive to your positions.	☐	☐	☐	☐

23. In thinking about the major decisions your organization makes concerning policy issues, how would you estimate **the capacity to influence** of the following groups?

	Level of capacity to influence organizational decisions					
	Not at all influential	**Slightly influential**	**Somewhat influential**	**Highly influential**	**Very highly influential**	**Not applicable**
General public	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Constituents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Donors	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Policy makers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Board members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Executive directors (CEO, COO, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other staff	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

24. In thinking about the major decisions your organization makes concerning policy issues, how frequently would you say **the following groups interact with your organization**? Interaction may include attending meetings, discussing policy issues and positions, etc..

	Level of interaction					
	Never	**Rarely**	**Sometimes**	**Often**	**Very often**	**Not applicable**
General public	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Constituents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Donors	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Policy makers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Board members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Executive directors (CEO, COO, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other staff	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this survey!

Please mail the completed survey in the enclosed stamped return envelope to **Takayuki Yoshioka, The Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University, 550 West North Street, Suite 301 Indianapolis, IN 46202.**

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- Master's Thesis: "The effect of government funding on nonprofit lobbying in the United States."

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- Master's Thesis: "Tax policy for giving and nonprofits' fundraising activities in Japan."

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Publication

Book Chapters

Yoshioka, Takayuki. (2010). "Lobbying." In Anheier, Helmut K. & Toepler, Stefan (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society* (Vol.2. pp.950-955). New York, NY: Springer.

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Conference Presentations

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Yoshioka, Takayuki. (2011). "Representational roles of nonprofit organizations in the public policy process." Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action Conference. Toronto, Canada.

Yoshioka, Takayuki. (2010). "Representational styles and foci of nonprofit advocacy organizations in democracy: The pilot survey results." Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action Conference. Alexandria, VA.

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Yoshioka, Takayuki. (2005). "The effect of government grants on nonprofit lobbying in the United States." Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action Conference. Washington, DC.

Panels and Discussants

Invited discussant. (2011). Young Leaders Forum in the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action. Indianapolis, IN.

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Awards• Grants• Fellowships

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